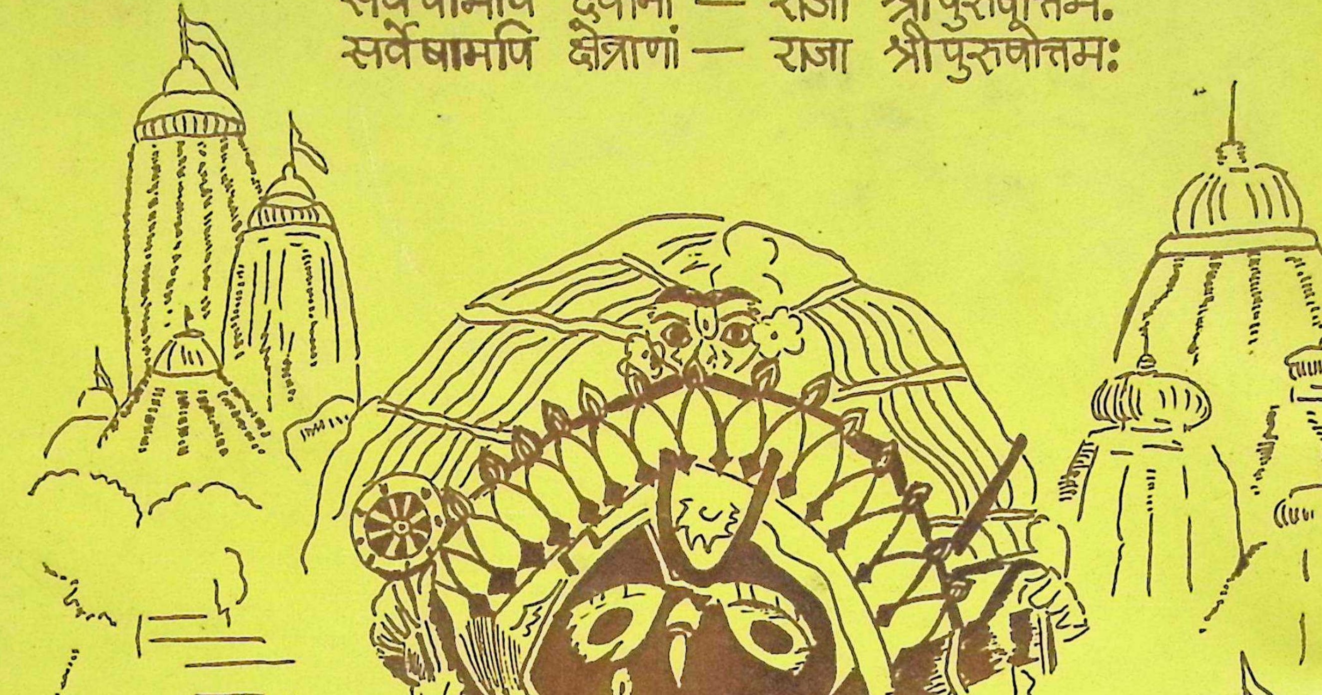
CULT OF JAGANNATH

सर्वेषामपि देवानां — राजा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः
सर्वेषामपि क्षेत्राणां — राजा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः



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CALCUTTA : : 1971

THE CULT
OF
JAGANNĀTHA

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Dedicated with a deep debt of gratitude

to

My Revered Professor

Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,

National Professor of India

who has encouraged me at every stage

of the development of this Thesis

FOREWORD

I have known for some years Professor Kanhu Charan Misra, Professor of Oriya Language and Literature at Ravenshaw College in Cuttack. Prof. Misra has been a very close student of history, culture, art and religion of Orissa. This year he got his Doctorate from the University of Calcutta on a very unique work namely on 'The Cult of Jagannātha'. Puri or Jagannātha is one of the pan-Indian Hindu religious centres and shrines, and it is of primary importance in modern Hindu corporate as well as personal religious life. It has a long tradition with regard to its ritual of daily worship. The temple has its beginnings in the age of the Keshari kings of Orissa—over 1500 years from now, and the present temple was built by the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa, Ananta Varman Choda Gangadeva, who ruled from 1074-1154 approximately. The Jagannātha temple was built on the ruins of an earlier temple built by the Keshari Emperor, Yayati Keshari and seems to have been erected in its present form near about 1000 A.D. The traditions of daily worship and other matters connected with the religious service has thus had a continuous development for near about 900 years.

This book is a unique production, and the first one of its kind in English language. The temple of Jagannātha is known all over the world, and people are interested in its history and its religious surroundings. It is a very complicated system, almost like that of a little state within a big state, and everything has been very well organised since the time of its foundation. Prof. Misra has been in close touch with the temple ever since his childhood and he knows how the temple carries on its daily ritual of worship, and he is also familiar both with the outward forms as well as the inner meanings of the ritual. He is therefore specially qualified to write on this subject working under an eminent scholar of Indian religion and religious art like Prof. Jitendra Nath Banerjee, retired Carmaichæl Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. Prof. Misra has produced a very valuable monograph on the subject. He has illustrated it with a number of photographs as well as special paintings which he got executed to indicate various aspects of temple worship. Within the limits of one volume he has given everything that is worth knowing about the temple and its history and ritual and its place in Hindu life.

A book like this is expected to interest not only the Hindu people all over India but also those foreigners who have a curiosity—whether of the scholar or of the ordinary lay man—to know something about the surroundings of one of the great centres of religious worship in the world. As such I feel confident that this book, when published, will have a very great appeal for all sorts of readers, both in India and abroad. I would recommend the publication of this book either by some department of the Government or by some enterprising private firm, and I am sure its publication will be looked upon as quite an event in the domain of Indological studies.

April 15, 1965.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SYNOPSIS

The thesis consisting of seven chapters and seven appendices is an extensive as well as comprehensive study of the evolution of the Cult of Jagannātha viewed from various standpoints—historical, archæological and epigraphical, religious, socio-cultural and literary.

While dealing with the religious aspect of the subject, the religious condition of India as a whole dating from the Asokan period upto the present times has been studied with special emphasis on the culmination of the country-wide tradition in the Cult of Jagannātha.

The Philosophical and theological aspect of the subject is an analytical and intensive treatment of the relevant portions from the Vedas, Āgamas, Tantras, Purāṇas, Buddhistic and Jainistic scriptures as well as Oriya literature from its earliest stage upto the medieval period focussing on the diverse intellectural aspects of the Cult.

In its literary aspect the thesis is a close scrutiny as well as an authentic interpretation of Oriya literature ranging over a period of 200 years from pre-Sarla Das age to the age of the Pancha Sakhas with proper citations and conclusive inferences.

PREFACE

The origin and the cult of the mysterious deities of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā of Puri have engaged the minds of scholars for centuries. Neither in the early historical accounts, nor in the ancient Indian texts upto the 5th or 6th century A.D. do we get any explicit reference to these deities. The Agamas or the early Purāṇas do not contain any clear reference to the rituals and the iconographic features of these peculiar images of Puri though, in some of them, some implicit allusions to these deities are found.

Many scholars have worked on the historical background of the worship of Jagannātha. Mention may be made here of the notable ones among them, W. H. Hunter, A. S. Sterling, MM. Sadasiva Mishra of Puri, R. L. Mitra, R. D. Banerjee, M. M. Ganguli, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Kedarnath Mahapatra, Dr. Nabin Kumar Sahu, Dr. H. K. Mahatab, Pandit Suryanarayana Das, Dr. Benimadhava Padhi, Gurudas Sarkar, Sundarananda Vidyavinoda, Dr. D. C. Sircar etc. In spite of all these previous attempts to trace the origin of the cult, there is still much scope for original research about its obscure beginning and development. It is no exaggeration to say that, the early history of Orissa is still, to a great extent, dark. I had long been contemplating to do some original work on this topic and had been patiently collecting materials for the purpose. I was fortunate enough to get the close guidance of the late lamented Dr. J. N. Banerjee, Retired Carmaichæl Professor of History and Religion of Calcutta University in this matter and I have followed his advice and instructions to the best of my ability.

The history of the religious development of Orissa, which was in ancient days known as Kaliṅga with its subdivisions of Tosali, Kongoda and Dakshina Kosala, could not be properly dealt with on account of the paucity of data. To study the history of religion in this country, we have to consider two important factors, one connected with its general history and the other with its ethnology. The original inhabitants of this region were some aboriginal tribes whose faith differed from that of the subsequent settlers. But, in course of time there came about an admixture of religious beliefs and practices, which moulded the religious concepts of the indigenous people to a great extent. I have, therefore, tried to explain the synthetic growth of the religious spirit in this land of Orissa through the influence of animism, Brahminism and Buddhism.

Another important aspect which I have considered, while explaining the gradual development of the Cult of Jagannātha, is the form of the worship of the '*Trinity*'. This aspect of the Cult, I may humbly state, has not been given due consideration by previous scholars. I have shown in the first chapter that, in days of yore there prevailed the belief in Orissa that each Rāṣṭra (kingdom) was protected by a deity that was considered to be its supreme authority. The deity was installed in the capital and members of the royal family used to worship him. If the deity had originally been installed by some aboriginal tribes, it was patronised by the kings who allowed these tribal people to continue their services in the temple in some form or other. The result is that, many deities in Orissa upto the present times continue to be worshipped by the tribal people although they have in the aryanised form been accepted as the presiding deities (Rāṣṭradevatās) of particular kingdoms long since. It may not be out of place to mention here that the religious concepts of the people changed from time to time, and with these changes new ideas crept into the minds, thus emphasising the composite character of their faith. The synthetic Cult of Jagannātha testifies to the assimilation of diverse religious concepts. It became so great a religious factor in the lives of the people of Eastern India and parts of Southern India, that various temples have been built in these regions housing exact replicas of the sacred icons of the Puri temple. Mention may be made here of the comparatively modern temples of Jagannāthapur (Ranchi, Bihar), Mahesh (Bengal), Cocanada (Andhra), Rajim (Madhyapradesh), Kathmandu (Nepal), Ahmedabad (Gujrat) etc. Moreover, the deities installed in course of time became so popular that the sanctity of their seats has been highly proclaimed in literature. It is needless to emphasise that, in almost every part of Orissa, temples of Jagannātha are found to have been established.

I have discussed at length the modification of Tantrism and Buddhism which culminated in the Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa under the influence of great teachers like Sankaracharya, Ramanujācharya, Mādhva and Chaitanya. All their associations contributed to the growth and development of the composite Cult of Jagannātha.

I have divided this work into seven chapters :

(i) Background of the Cult of Jagannātha
(ii) History of Jagannātha
(iii) Jagannātha in tradition
(iv) Temple and the Icon
(v) Temple administration, rites and festivals

(vi) Mode of worship
(vii) Theology.

I have added to these chapters seven short appendices dealing with such topics as :

1. Bhogas of the Jagannātha temple, Dresses and Ornaments.
2. The impact of the Cult of Jagannātha on the socio-religious life of Orissa.
3. Jagannātha in Inscriptions and Literature.
4. Ekānaṁsā and Subhadrā.
5. Desecration of the Jagannātha Temple.
6. Chatiśā Niyoga (36 kinds of temple attendants).
7. List of Maṭhas at Puri.

I have treated in brief outline, the various ritualistic traits and practices as well as the present system of the temple administration before coming to the discussion of the theology underlying the Cult of Jagannātha. While giving the detailed account of the mode of worship, I have laid stress on the worship of "Oṁkār" or "Praṇava" and have tried to analyse the philosophy of the pañca-sakhās with referene to the Cult of Jagannātha as propagated by them. I have also suggested how this deity was known as Purusottama in early Gaṅga period and Purusottama-Jagannātha in later Gaṅga period and only Jagannātha in the Sūryavaṁsī period. Now the deity as well as the Kṣetra is known as Jagannātha in India. The appendices deal with topics which are intimately connected with the cult as is in vogue at present. Thus, I may humbly state that, I have approached the subject from different points of view in my own way.

In course of my continuous work on the theme, I have been helped and encouraged by various scholars of repute, the foremost among them being my guide and supervisor late Dr. J. N. Banerjea who is no more to see this book published. I may also mention in this connection, the names of such distinguished scholars as the National Professor Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Pandit Satyanarayana Rajguru, Dr. P. K. Parija, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, Dr. N. K. Sahu, Shri S. K. Chattopadhaya, Shri S. N. Rath, Pradhanacharya late Pandit Anand Mishra, who have given useful suggestions to me. My thanks are due to Sri Gouri Sankara Bhattacharya, and also to Pandit K. Sankar Sarma of the National Library for his help in connection with the collection of some data.

I am specially grateful to my Professor Dr. S. K. Chatterji who was so kind to write a foreword of this book.

I am thankful to my friend Shri Trilochana Mishra, Reader in English, for having gone through the manuscript before it was sent to the Press and to my student,—Shri Raj Kishore Mishra, Department of English, B. J. B.

College, Bhubaneswar for taking pains in preparing the Index of the Book. I express my thankfulness to the Board of Revenue, Cuttack and the authorities of Jagannātha Temple, Puri, for having permitted me to utilise some relevant records and to prepare some sketches of the sculptures and images inside the temple. I thank Shri Asutosh Sinha in this regard for the photographs. I am also indebted to the Government of Orissa and particularly to Shri Nityananda Mohapatra, the-then Minister, Cultural Affairs for their kind patronage. Last, but not the least, my thanks go to Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay for whom this book now comes to light.

Candana Purṇimā, Monday
10. 5. 1971

K. C. Mishra

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THE LAND OF JAGANNATH AND OTHER RELIGIOUS CENTRES OF KALINGA

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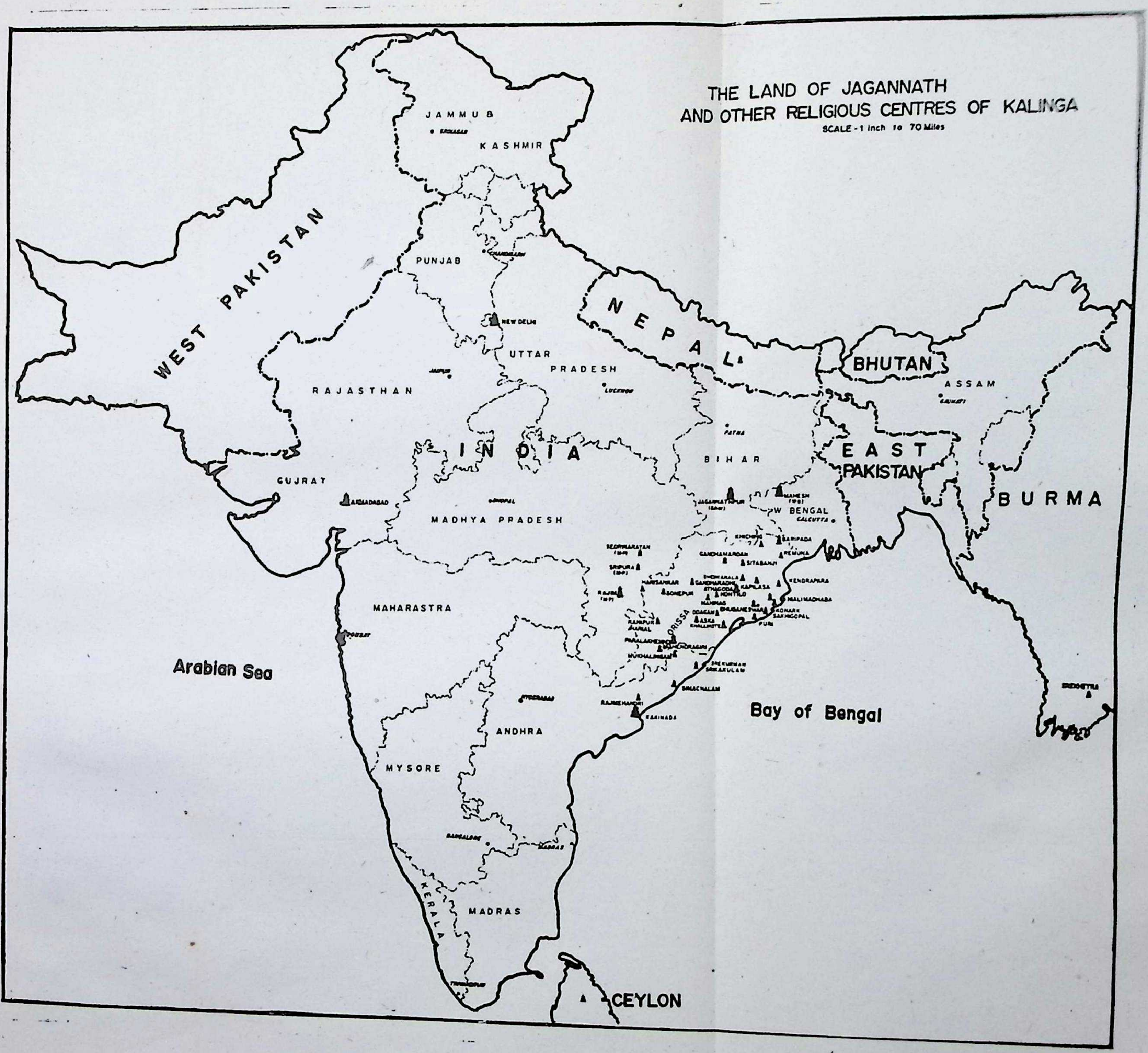
JAMMU & KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
WEST PAKISTAN
PUNJAB
CHANDIGARH
NEW DELHI
NEPAL
BHUTAN
UTTAR PRADESH
LUCKNOW
JAIPUR
RAJASTHAN
ASSAM
GAUHATI
PATNA
INDIA
BIHAR
EAST PAKISTAN
GUJRAT
AHMADABAD
BHOPAL
MADHYA PRADESH
JAGANNATHPUR (BIHAR)
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KHICHING
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SEORINARAYAN (M.P.)
GANDHAMARDAN
REMUNA
SITABANJI
SRIPURA (M.P.)
HARISANKAR
DHOKANALA
GANDHARADHI
KENDRAPARA
ATHAGODA
KAPILASA
RAJIM (M.P.)
SONEPUR
MONTILO
MALIMADHABA
BHUBANESWAR
KONARK
SAKHIGOPAL
ASKA
KHALLIKOTE
PURI
RAMPUR
JARIAL
ORISSA
MAHARASTRA
BOMBAY
PARALAKHEMUNDI
MAHENDRAGIRI
MUKHALINGAM
SREEKURMAM
SRIKAKULAM
SIMACHALAM
Arabian Sea
HYDERABAD
RAJAHMUNDRY
KAKINADA
Bay of Bengal
SREEKHETRA
ANDHRA
MYSORE
BANGALORE
MADRAS
KERALA
MADRAS
TRIVANDRUM
CEYLON

Ramchandra Dikshitar in his paper[21] on "South India and Ceylon" writes : "there is still a village near Ratnapur (in Ceylon) named Havaragama, probably Śavaragrāma, which reminds us of a Śabara settlement. The Śabaras and the Pulindas were forest tribes in south India according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa ; so, this may point out to a migration of these tribes from South India. Further, the Mahāvaṃśa explains the origin of the Pulindas as rising out of the two children of Vijaya by Yakkhiṇī Kubeṇi. It sounds to reason to take that the Veddhas of modern Ceylon are akin to these ancient tribes of Śabaras and Pulindas of South India."[22]

These Pulindas, according to Dikshitar, worshipped two Gods : Puradeva, whose other name is Vyādha Deva, and Murugan.[23] The names Puradeva and Vyādha Deva etymologically may mean the deity which was named Puruṣa Deva and which was worshipped by Vyādhas or Kirātas originally. The origin of the second deity, Murugan, according to Dikshitar, is traced to the cult of the Nāgas. He observes :

"If we turn to the page of Tirumurugaṛrupaḍai in honour of Murugan, we see that this God is propitiated by the sacrifices of fowls, goats and toddy drink. The worship is done by the mystic finger signs (vide Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 144). It may be presumed that the dominant Murugan cult became blended with Serpent cult of the Nāgas, so much so that we associate the Serpent with Murugan cult now-a-days. Need it be said that the Murugan cult was a distinct contribution of South India to Ceylon."[24]

Regarding the association of Siṃhapura of Kaliṅga and the Bāhu family of Ceylon, it is known from the *Silappadhikāram* and *Maṇimekhalai* that thirty years after ruling the island of Siṃhala the king Vijaya died leaving no issue, but he expressed at the time of his death, that his brother Sumitta, who had become a king of Sihala of Kaliṅga, should succeed him. So, according to the wish of Vijaya, Sumitta sent his son, Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva, to Laṅkā where he received royal honours and was crowned king. He married a daughter of the king of Kośala who was a disciple of the Lord Buddha (vide the *Mahāvaṃśa*).

From these accounts of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. we infer that the contact of the royal families of Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga and Ceylone resulted in the mutual influence on religion through the agency of some aboriginal tribes who had previously worshipped their own Gods in both countries.[25]

As we said before, the kingdom of the Māṭharas roughly extended from the Mahānadi in the north to the Kṛshnā in the south. This is supported by the fact that their grants have been discovered in the districts of Śrīkākulam in Andhra, and Ganjam in Orissa.[26] From the study of some copper-plate inscriptions of these kings, we further learn that a certain Prabhañjanavarman was a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa (*Bhāgavatsvāmi-Nārāyaṇa-Pādānudhyātaḥ*),[27] and that the two kings of the same family, viz. Nanda Prabhañjanavarman and Chaṇḍavarman, were *Paramabhāgavatas.*[28] The use of the epithets pertaining to Vaiṣṇavism is very significant for the study of the early history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. It is evident that, for the first time, Vaiṣṇavism was patronised in Kaliṅga by the Māṭharas who also used the titles of *Paramadaivata.*[29] According to scholars, the expression, "*Daivataṃ Devatānāñca*", in the *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma* possibly shows that the epithet *Daivataṃ* is a Vaiṣṇavite term.[30]

The main parts of the territory of the Māṭharas extended all around the Mahendra mountain, where they might have installed their family deity, like the Gaṅgas who immediately succeeded them. As a matter of fact, the small temple at the top of the Mahendra mountain (Photo 1) from archæological point of view, belongs to the earliest age of temple architecture in Orissa.[31] This temple, with a unique type of architectural form, is complete only with seven huge cut pieces of stones and apparently belongs to the Gupta period. A similar miniature temple, made out of only nine cut stones, is also found on the top of the hill in the village of Jagamaṇḍā, near Gunupur in Koraput district (Orissa). It is interesting to note that a small inscription was found on that temple and in it we read the name of Dharmakīrti, possibly the same Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist monk of Kaliṅga, who defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa.[32] It is, therefore, possible that the said temple was built some time before Dharmakīrti. We have thus enough reason to believe that the temple on the Mahendra mountain was constructed during or before the time of the Māṭhara rulers of Kaliṅga, who were Bhāgavatas. They might have worshipped the image of Viṣṇu in the shape of Mādhava or Nārāyaṇa in that temple, although a Liṅgam instead of a Vaiṣṇavite image is now installed there. The question arises, whether Nārāyaṇa or Mādhava, the popular god of Kaliṅga of the Māṭhara period, was installed on the top of the hill as the family deity of the Maṭhara kings, or was it a subsidiary god worshipped in some part of the neighbouring plain. We would like to point out that in the days of the Māṭharas, the Mahendra mountain had already become an important seat of religion. This is proved by the copper-plate inscriptions which record that it was an abode of the *Siddhas*, the *Sādhakas* and the *tapasvis*, "*prasiddha-Siddhatāpasādhyuṣita-kandarodara-Mahendra-giriśikhara-śekharasya-surāsura-gurossakala tribhuvana-mahāprāsāda-nirmāṇaika-sūtradhārasya-bhagavato Gokarṇa-svāminaḥ.*"[33] So, the top of the Mahendra was not an uninhabited tract, covered with jungle, but a place frequented by *yogis* and *tapasvis*, and also visited by pilgrims on their way to religious shrines.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Vana-Parva, (Ch. 114), we find that the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Kaliṅga, arrived at the river Vaitaraṇī where they took their sacred bath.

Their guide, the sage Lomaśa, advised them to climb on a *Vedī*, which had been raised by *Bhūdevī*, at the request of the sage Kaśyapa. Lomaśa asked Yudhiṣṭhira to climb upon the *Vedī* to be blessed and thus to acquire divine prowess.[34] The Pāṇḍavas accordingly climbed on the *Vedī* after they had had a sacred bath in the sea and went to the Mahendra hill to rest during the night. Some scholars interpret that the *Vedī* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* may be identified with Puri or the Nīlācala. Unfortunately, we do not have any trace of a hill in the neighbourhood of Puri or on its sea-shore. From the descriptions of the *Mahābhārata*, we have to search for this *Vedī* which must have been on the mountain or near the mountain, close to the sea-shore and was considered as a sacred place. Which other place in Kaliṅga fits with this description if it is not the Mahendra mountain ?

It will not be out of place to point out here that actually there are three dilapidated temples on the Mahendra which bear the names of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Kuntī (Photo 2).[35] According to the local tradition, these temples were constructed by the Pāṇḍavas when they visited this locality. This tradition seems to have been current even as early as the time of Choḍagaṅga (1078-1148), in whose copper-plate inscriptions there is a verse describing that five brothers of the Gaṅga dynasty, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṃha and Vajrahasta, came to the Madendra region where, like the five Pāṇḍavas, they worshipped the god Gokarṇa-svāmin.[36] As the court poet of Coḍagaṅga (12th century A.D.) metaphorically described the pilgrimage of the first Gaṅga princes of Kaliṅga as akin to that of the Pāṇḍava brothers, it is quite apparent that this tradition was not unknown to him.

The Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada regarded the Mahendra mountain as the sacred seat of their progenitor. From the *praśastis* of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgada, whose rule began after the decline of the Māṭharas, it appears that the former regarded Gokarṇeśvara as their family god, while the later regarded Svayambhū as the progenitor of their family. This god bearing the names of Gokarṇeśvara and Svayambhū was possibly installed on the top of the Mahendra Mountain.[37]

The kings of Kaliṅga, including the neighbouring kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala or Mahā Kośala and Veṅgi, namely the Śarabhapuriyans, the Pāṇḍus and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins respectively, adopted Bhāgavatism as their state religion. This is evident from the epithets recorded in their respective inscriptions.[38] In the inscription of Hastivarman of the early Gaṅga dynasty of the Gaṅga era 79[39], corresponding to either A.D. 577 or 705, mention is made of his granting a village in the district of Varāha Varttanī in Kaliṅga to the God Viṣṇu who is described

as the *Bhagavate saptārṇavaśāyine-*
Saptasāmopagītāya-saptalokaikanāthāya-raṇabhītodayā-
bhidhānāya-Nārāyaṇāya.

In spite of the fact that Hastivarman styled himself as *Paramamāheśvara* and claimed to be a devout worshipper of Gokarṇeśvara (Śiva), he gave charters in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa. This proves that there was no conflict between the *Bhāgavatas* and the *Māheśvaras* in the 6th or 7th century A.D. or at least before Śaṅkarācārya propagated his Siddhānta of *Advaitavāda.*

Contemporary with the Māṭharas in the western regions of Orissa, the Nalas were ruling over a portion of Dakśina Kośala, comprising the modern Koraput district of Orissa and Bastar and Nāgpur in Madhya Bhārat. In the Poḍāgadh Stone-inscription of Skandavarman, son of Bhavadatta of the Nala family, it is said that he installed a foot-print of the Lord Viṣṇu in a place called Puṣkari. In that grant, the first verse of the *Praśasti* is in the praise of Hari, who is described as one who "was victorious, is victorious and will be victorious" (*Hariṇā Jitaṃ-Jayati Jeṣyatyeṣā guṇastu*).[40] A similar expression is also made in the *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma* as *Vijayojetā*. In the sixth line of the inscription there is a passage known as '*Puruṣāyapuram*' which may be explained as the home of Puruṣa, who is none but Hari or Viṣṇu.[41]

In the age of the Guptas and that of the Puṣyabhūtis, we find evidence of the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Veṅgi and Kaliṅga. The Gupta age was characterised by the evolution of Neo-Brahmanism and Vaiṣṇavism in the territories which came within their fold in the south.

In Dakṣiṇakośala there flourished a king in the time of Hastivarman of Kaliṅga whose name was Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva. His father, Nannadeva, was a feudatory chief under one Mahāsudevarāja of Śarabhapura. According to the Rājim and Balodā plates, Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva used the glorious title of "*Sakala Kośalādhipati*"[42] and he was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu having the epithet of *Paramavaiṣṇava*. These grants of Tīvaradeva of the Pāṇḍu dynasty were issued from Sirpur. Nannadeva's father, Indravala, as is mentioned in an inscription of Sirpur (discovered by Beglar and referred to by Cunninghum in 1884),[43] was a son of Udayana, who belonged to the Śabara lineage. This King, Udayana, is said to have been captured and released by a Pallava king named Pallavamalla Nandivarman.[44] If Udayana of the Sirpur inscription is identical with the Śabara king of the same name of the time of the aforesaid king Nandivarman, then we have to presume that another Śabara king named Śabarāditya, who is said to have been defeated by Kāmārṇava, the first Gaṅga king, on the peak of the Mahendra, might have had some relation with Udayana and also with the

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA

In tracing the background of the cult of Jagannātha, it is necessary to have some idea of the historical geography of the land. The different parts of Orissa, the land of Jagannātha, assumed different names in different periods of history. Its coastal strip, comprising the valley of the river Vaitaraṇī, was known as Kaliṅga, which is evident from the Indian epic, *Mahābhārata*[1]. This ancient name Kaliṅga, was also in vogue in the time of Aśoka. After his conquest of Kaliṅga, Aśoka appears to have divided it into two parts, Northern and Southern Kaliṅga, the headquarters of which were located in Toṣalī and Somāpā respectively[2].

From the early medieval copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma kings of Orissa we know that they ruled the country of Toṣalī comprising Koṅgada when, to the south of their territory, Kaliṅga extended up to the modern district of Vizagapatam and was ruled by the early Gaṅgas. From the Bhauma records we further know that the country of Toṣalī was divided into two parts, such as Southern and Northern Toṣalī, Koṅgada being a part of the former.[3]

"Oḍra Viṣaya", from which the present name, Orissa, was derived, formed a part of northern Toṣalī in the early medieval period.[4] The Western portion of modern Orissa, roughly comprising the upper Mahānadī Valley, was known as Dakshiṇa Kośala and it was integrated with Toṣalī or the coastal strip of Orissa during the later part of the Somavaṃśī rule. Among these broad territorial divisions, there were also smaller ones which bore different names in different periods of the history of Orissa. The northern portion of the present-day Orissa was known as Utkal and it was contiguous to Daṇḍabhukti or the Midnapore district. The southern portion of the present districts of Ganjam and Puri was known as Koṅgada. During the medieval period the name Kaliṅga again was applied to the territory situated roughly between the southern limits of Koṅgada and the river Godāvarī. The whole of the geographical unit of Orissa became the field of origin and development of the great cult of Śrī Jagannātha.

In the early stage of its development the cult remained confined to these territorial limits though it gradually spread to the contiguous regions along with the expansion of the imperial power of the Gaṅgas. Our study of the history of this cult will be incomplete without a general survey of the growth and development of different religions, which ultimately led to the synthetic culture symbolised in the great institution of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. A close study of the archæological, and literary sources of the history of Orissa reveals that, centuries before the birth of Christ, Kaliṅga was the cradle of various religions. Some of her children appear to have come in personal contact with the great Buddha in his life-time. The Burmese legends credit Tapasu and Bhallika, two merchants of Utkal, with the rare privilege of receiving the doctrine of Buddhism from the Lord Buddha himself.[5]

In the great religious and intellectual stir of the 6th century B.C., Kaliṅga appears to have been associated with Buddha and Mahāvīra, and to have played a conspicuous role in the history of India. The Jaina work, *Haribhadrīya Vṛitti*, tells us that the king of Kaliṅga, who was a friend of Mahāvīra's father, invited Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, to propagate the main tenets of Jainism in his land. In later age the two religions connected with Buddha and Mahāvīra received due patronage from the state of Kaliṅga under Aśoka and Khāravela respectively. The driving force of Buddhism in Kaliṅga which turned Chaṇḍāśoka into Dharmāśoka was never limited by a sectarian outlook. It impressed upon Aśoka that tolerance is the key-note of a great religious order. Thus he repents in his rock edict No. XIII "for the injury or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones, of the lot of Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas and the adherents of the other sects".[7] It may be presumed that the great change which came over the mind of that great Emperor of Magadha was not an abrupt and sudden occurrence, but a gradual outcome of the teachings and influence of some learned scholars of Kaliṅga, whose principles were based on sympathy and tolerance towards people. Even the great Jaina monarch, Khāravela, whose empire extended far and wide, adopted the same age-old spirit of religious tolerance. In the Hātīgumphā inscription of the first century B.C. it is stated that Khāravela respected every sect, and it was he who repaired many Deva Temples.[8]

The history of Orissa in the post-Khāravela period has not yet come to light owing to paucity of evidence. The religious condition of India, however, is known to some extent from the famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta of the 4th century A.D., which gives a vivid account of the imperial activities of that Gupta monarch.[9] The Guptas were probably responsible for the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism not only in Kaliṅga but also in the whole of India. A study of the inscriptions of the pre-medieval age reveals that some Gupta rulers worshipped Viṣṇu as Mādhava. In the Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena, it is stated that a Gupta monarch, Mādhavagupta, was a worshipper of Mādhava. In lines 11 and 12 of that inscription, we find a verse *Vāsudevād=iva tasmāch=chhrī-s(e) vaṇa*

[So (?)] bh-[0]ditacaraṇa-yugaḥ Śrī-Mādhavagupta=bhūn=Mādhava iva Vikram-aikarasa [ḥ]. Fleet translates it as follows: "As (the God) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the Goddess) Śri, (was born) from Vāsudeva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mādhavagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the Goddess of fortune".[10]

Mādhavagupta, who was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana, lived in the time of Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa. Śaśāṅka was the overlord of Mādhavavarman, a king of the Śailodbhava family of Koṅgada Maṇḍala (Orissa). In his Ganjam plates, Mādhavavarman describes himself as a subordinate king under Śaśāṅka in the Gupta era 300 (A.D. 620)[11]. It is, thus, not improbable that the Mādhava cult which was popular in the kingdom of the Guptas also influenced the Śailodbhavas. In the Pattam plates of Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, a contemporary of the Guptas of northern India, we find the following passage:

"*Mahāpuruṣa-pādamūla satripayojyam* (*Payojani*) *Nārāyaṇa*
Rājavijñyāpena (*vijñapyu*) *dattam* (*dattāni*)"

Mirashi, while editing these plates, interprets that the Viṣṇu referred to here is the Mahāpuruṣapāda or Mahāpuruṣapādamūla. It proves that the donor, Pravarasena, was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[12]

In the Eran stone-pillar inscription of Budha Gupta of the Gupta *saṃvat* 165 (A.D. 485) the invocation verse runs as follows:

"*Jayati, Vibhus=catur=bhujas=catur=ārṇava-*
vipula-salila-paryyaṅkaḥ=jagataḥsthity-
utpatti=lalya (*ny-adi*) *hetur=garuḍaketu.*

"Victorious is the Lord, the four-armed (God Viṣṇu) whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, etc. of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa."[13]

A similar expression regarding the qualities of Gokarṇeśvara (Śiva) is found in the epithets recorded in the Śvetaka branch of the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga which runs as follows[14]:

"*Oṃ ! svasti ! Se* (*śve*) *ta*(*ta*) [*kā*] *dhiṣṭhānā-*
dbhagavatas=carācaraguru [ḥ] sa (*śa*) *śāṅka-*
śekharadharasyaḥ (*sya*) *thi* (*sthi*) *tyutpati* (*tti*)-
pralayakāraṇa hetor=Mahendrāchalaśikha-
ranivāsinaḥ śrīmad gokarṇṇe (*ṇṇe*) *śo* (*śva*) *ra-*
bhaṭṭārakasya"

From the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, we learn that his expedition to the south began at Prayāga and passed through Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Mahākāntāra, Mahendra, and Kurāla. He reached as far as the river Tel from which point the Mahākāntāra region extended towards the Mahendra mountain in Orissa.[15] Immediately after crossing the country of Mahākāntāra, the Gupta monarch defeated a petty king at Kurāla, identified with the present Kulāḍa, the headquarters of the Bhanja kings of Ghumsara in Ganjam (Orissa).[16] He arrived at the Mahendra mountain where he liberated several petty kings captured by him. The route of his expedition to the south establishes the fact that from Allahabad (Pratiṣṭhāna) in the north to the Mahendra mountain in southern Orissa (Kaliṅga), there was a highway in those days through which passed not only the army of the Gupta monarch, but also the Brāhmaṇas and many high caste people.

In the region of the Mahendra, there lived some kings of a royal dynasty, known as Māṭhara, that started its rule from the 4th century A.D. and acquired supreme power in the territory immediately after the expedition of Samudragupta. They were contemporaries of the Guptas, the Parivrājakas and the Nalas of Madhyabhārata who happened to be the great promoters of Vaiṣṇavism in the central portions of India.[17]

The Māṭharas played an important role in the political history of Kaliṅga. They are believed to have established matrimonial ties with the contemporary kings of Veṅgi who lived in the regions of the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā and performed Aśvamedha sacrifice with the help of the newly migrated Brāhmaṇas of northern India.[18]

The Māṭharas used the royal title of *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* and *Pitṛpādānudhyāta*. From a copper-plate inscription of Śaktivarman of this dynasty, we come to learn that he was a devout worshipper of the God, Nārāyaṇa.[19] The kingdom of the Māṭharas roughly extended from the river Mahānadi in the north to the river Krishṇā in the south.

The Māṭharas ruled in Kaliṅga prior to the migration of the Gaṅgas during the 4th or 5th century A.D. Their capital was known as Siṃhapura according to their inscriptions.[20] From Ceylonese chronicles we come to know that a certain Siṃhabāhu migrated from Kaliṅga and established a kingdom there, after which there was close association between the royal families of Ceylon and Kaliṅga. The Māṭharas embraced Bhāgavatism and became worshippers of the God Nārāyaṇa, but from Ceylonese records it is apparent that they also followed Buddhism. Any way, one peculiarity which we should not overlook is the aboriginal influence of the Śabaras or the Pulindas on the religious spheres of Kaliṅga and Ceylon. V. R.

Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. Pulindasena, a leader of the *Kaliṅga-Janatā*[45] and a devout worshipper of the god Svayaṁbhu, might also be linked with the same Śabara-lineage, whose successor is taken by the court-poets of the Sailodbhava kings as belonging to the Kṣatriya race, Śailodbhava by name.

In the *Rājim Māhātmya*, it is said that the Mahānadī river bore the name of Utpaleśvarī ; the course of the river below its junction with the Jonk is still known as the Citrotpalā. Richard Jenkins, as stated by Cunningham,[46] discovered this *Māhātmya* in the early decades of the 19th century. It is further known that the temple of Rājīvalocana at Rājim is surrounded by a group of temples dedicated to Varāha, Narasiṃha, Badarīnātha, Vāmana and Jagannātha, Rājeśvara and Dāneśvara, the last two being Śiva-temples. We thus conclude that the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings, from the time of Tīvaradeva onwards, used to worship Viṣṇu in his various forms. We have already stated that the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings were probably of the Śabara lineage whose association with the origin of Jagannātha is gathered from traditional accounts. Cunningham assigns these temples to about the 5th century A.D. on archæological and stylistic considerations. So, our conclusion regarding the original Śabara kings of this locality, as well as of the Mahendra region, where the founders of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga defeated one Śabara king, named Śabarāditya, is well established.

Under the patronage of the rulers of Dakṣiṇa Kośala who embraced Brāhmanism, Buddhists and other sects enjoyed equal privileges with the Brāhmaṇas. The Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta reveal that fourteen Ārya Bhikṣus lived in a Buddhist Vihāra at a place known as Taradaṃsaka.[47] This Vihāra was formerly established by Alakā, wife of Kīradeva. The Bhikṣus of this monastery were granted a village called Kailāsapura in Taradaṃsaka-Bhoga by Mahāśivagupta who used the title of *Paramamāheśvara*.[48] The inscription further states that these fourteen Ārya-bhikṣus were granted charters on the advice of one Bhāskaravarman, who was a maternal uncle of the king. There was a king named Bhāskaravarman, who lived in the country of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) in the 7th century A.D. For want of evidence we are not able to identify the Bhāskaravarman of this period with the king of the same name who lived in Prāgjyotiṣa. But, regarding the influence of Buddhism of Assam over Dakṣiṇa-Kośala and Kaliṅga we may trace that it was possible only after the migration of the Bhauma-Kara kings to Orissa in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

The Buddhistic sculptures found in different places of Madhyabhārat, including Śabarīnārāyaṇa, have features which indicate the Buddhistic influence on this land before Vaiṣṇavism was established in that region. The name, Śabarīnārāyaṇa, suggests that it was dominated by the Śabaras, an aboriginal tribe of the area. The place, therefore, seems to have attained religious importance before the advent of the Pāṇḍus and the Śarabhapurians. No epigraphical evidence is available to establish the existence of any king in that locality who embraced Buddhism; but, we are sure from the records of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuentsang, that this part of India was under the influence of the great Buddhist monk, Nāgārjuna, who lived in South Kośala in a Buddhist monastery. He was highly regarded by the Buddhists for his supernatural powers. Hiuentsang says that the king of South Kośala was "a[49] Kṣatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence." This reveals that a Kṣatriya chief of that country who was a follower of the Varṇāśrama-dharma was also a patron of Buddhism. We may, therefore, assume that some powerful Buddhist monks, like Nāgārjuna, tried to popularise their doctrine in this tract, and did even secure followers from the lower ranks of contemporary society. It is no wonder that the Śabaras extended their support to the Buddhist faith.

As has been said before, after the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga in the country of Koṅgada, lying to the east of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and contiguous of Kaliṅga, there lived the Śailodbhavas. Their kingdom was situated around the Chilkā Lake. From their inscriptions we know that they used the title of *Paramamāheśvara* and performed the Vedic rituals like Aśvamedha and Vājapeya.[50] In the Bānpur Plates of Madhyamarāja there is a verse which throws light on the religious condition of Koṅgada.[51] Madhyamarāja's predecessor, Mādhavarāja, is described, in his Khurdā plates, as a follower of Śaivism while he compared himself with god Cakradhara or Bhagavān Mādhava. This is an important fact for our consideration regarding the religious belief of the kings of Koṅgada; the name of Bhagavān Mādhava has been used as a synonym for Cakradhara (Viṣṇu).[52]

It is necessary to point out that the insignia of the *Cakra* was recognised even from the time of Aśoka when the symbol of Dharmacakra was first introduced. In some Pāli texts, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and *Mahāsudarśana Sutta*,[53] we find that an emperor should possess seven precious things, one of which is the *Cakra Ratna.* According to popular tradition in Orissa, the god Nīlamādhava is associated with the god Puruṣottama. It indicates the importance of the god Cakradhara-Mādhava referred to in the Khurdā plates.[54]

From the Bugudā Plates, we know that Pulindasena, who was a leader of the Kaliṅga-Janatā, worshipped the god Svayaṁbhū on the top of the Mahendra where he received a boon that a stalwart youth would come out of a rock after it had been split. He was called Śailodbhava, after whom the family was named.[55] We have already stated that the Śabaras predominated the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala before the advent of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings. Similarly, they (the Śabaras) dominated Kaliṅga, centering round the Mahendra Mountain, before the Śailodbhavas came into prominence. Like the religious centre of Dakṣiṇa Kośala at Śabarīnārāyaṇa, the Mahendra region was also considered to be another such centre which originally belonged to the Pulindas or the Śabaras. We have further stated that the importance of the Mahendra was recognised, even in the time of the Māṭharas, who lived there before the Śailodbhavas and the Gaṅgas. From the study of the religious history of this locality we may conclude that the religious conditions in the countries of Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Koṅgada were almost similar being interlinked through the agency of the aboriginal tribes, namely the Śabaras.

From the family history of the Śailodbhavas, we learn that Mādhavarāja, who was a subordinate king under Śaśāṅka in A.D. 620, suddenly attained the status of *Sakalakaliṅgādhipati* at the time of issuing his Khurdā[56] plates. But, after a few years, he and his successors ceased using the glorious title, "the Lord of all Kaliṅga." It proves that the country of Kaliṅga was captured by the Gaṅgas, sometime about the first half of the 7th century A.D. Here we can safely assume that the Rāṣṭradevatā, they used to worship on the Mahendra, first in the name of Svyaṁbhū and thereafter as Cakradhara Mādhava, was not overlooked by the Gaṅgas.

Now, if an aboriginal god, possibly made of wood, was installed on the Mahendra mountain and worshipped by the Pulindas or the aboriginal Śabaras[57] under some name in their own language, and if that was taken as the divine lord of the country of Kaliṅga, it is presumable that the Māṭharas, who were *Bhāgavatas*, devoted to the god Nārāyaṇa, might have worshipped the former according to their faith under the name of Nārāyaṇa or Puruṣottama Nārāyaṇa.

The Buddhists, during the Śailodbhava period, seem to have embraced Śaivism and adopted Liṅga worship when they tried to assimilate the phallus emblem of Śiva as indentical with and inseparable to their Lord Buddha. With this notion they inscribed part of their own sacred verse namely "*Yo Dharma hetu pravabhā heturjasya Tathāgataḥ*" on a Liṅgaṃ. One such Liṅgaṃ was discovered from the district of Balasore.[58]

Similar Śiva worship by a Buddhist king of Jāvā may be taken as a significant reference while considering the synthesis of Buddhism with Śaivism as well as Vaiṣṇavism. In this connection we refer to an important inscription of Erlangga from Penanggungen (Surabaya of Java of Śaka year 963) where the invocation verses are inscribed as follows :-

Svasti : Tribhirapi guṇairupeto nṛṇāmvidhāne-
sthitān tattatpralaya-Aguṁa iti yaḥ prasiddhastasmaiahā-

tre namassatatatam-agaṇi-tavikramaguruṇā Praṇ-
amyamānassurādhipeṇa Sadā !

B. R. Chatterjee translates these three verses as follows[59] :—

Verse I :- Hail, May honour be always given to the creator (Brahmā) who in his creation and preservation is endowed with all the three qualities (guṇas) but is without any (guṇa) at the time of destruction.

Verse II :- Honour be also to him who is well-known in the world as Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) and who is at all times saluted by the Lord of the Devas (i.e. Indra) who is great on account of his immense prowess.

Verse III :- Honour to Śiva who (in bounty) surpasses the wish-giving tree, who though called sthāṇu (lit. motionless) moves with great speed and who through his qualities satisfies the desire of the living beings.

In another inscription on the same island found at Kelurak (which was incised in Śaka 704 i.e. 782 A.D.) we find that the Buddhist god Mañjuśrī whose symbolic feature corresponds to the two rounded eyes and the mouth of the present image of Jagannātha has been depicted in that inscription and has been described to be the assimilation of three gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara who are responsible for the creation, preservation and destruction of the world. The relevant verse in that inscription runs as follows[60] :

"Ayaṃ sa vajradhṛk Śrīmān Brahmā Viṣṇummaheśvaraḥ-
Sarvadevamaya svāmi mañjuvāgiti gīyate."

Our reference to these epigraphical quotations from Jāvā of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. proves that a similar conception of religious precepts prevailed among the Buddhists of that island who possibly borrowed ideas from the Mahāyānists of the coastal tracts of Kaliṅga and also from the Brāhminical sects who worshipped the god Viṣṇu attributing him the qualities of *sṛṣṭi, sthiti, pralaya* i.e. creation, preservation, and destruction, during the reign of Budhagupta in the 5th century A.D. It proves how the original idea of worshipping the *rāṣṭradevatā* of a kingdom with these supernatural powers of creation, preservation and destruction, had influenced the Buddhists and spread throughout the world of Mahāyānists both in India and in eastern archipælago.

The same deity was perhaps earlier called Nārāyaṇa by the Māṭharas, Gokarṇeśvara by the Gaṅgas and Svayaṁbhū by the Śailodbhavas. After the Śailodbhavas, the Śaivite kings, the Gaṅgas, probably called the same deity Gokarṇeśvara in the form of a Śiva who, according to them, was responsible for the prosperity of the royal State. Although an unknown primitive god was worshipped by the followers of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva according to their faith, they did not dare change the iconographic features of the deity, which would have wounded the religious sentiment of the aboriginal tribes who formed an important part of the militia of these countries. If any image corresponding to the peculiar image-type of Jagannātha could be found in the Śabara country, we could have unhesitatingly suggested that the former was the prototype of the latter. But, in the absence of any such image, we have to seek for other data to explain the form of the three peculiar images comprising Puruṣottama Jagannātha and his associates, now enshrined in the temple of Puri.

There existed from an unknown time a practice in Orissa that a god or goddess should be installed in each home, in each village and in each town or fort named *gṛihadevatā*, *grāmādevatā*, *nagaradevatā* and *durgadevatā* respectively. These gods or goddesses were expected to protect a family, a village, a town or a fort from all calamities. Similarly, in the case of each country there was a *Rāṣṭradevatā* who was to take care of the safety of the country. This peculiar custom influenced not only the high castes, but also the local aboriginal tribes, and this practice is still in vogue among them. There is, however, a clue to determine the existence of a Rāṣṭradevatā in Dakṣiṇkośala at Śabarīnārāyaṇa and another in Kaliṅga at the Mahendra ; they were taken to be the family gods of the royal families of these kingdoms. This idea of the *Rāṣṭradevatā*, who was supposed to protect the kingdom where he was worshipped, has come down to us from the Buddhist *Jātakas* of the 5th or 6th century B.C. For example, in the *Culla Kaliṅga Jātaka*, it is mentioned that once there was a war between the kings of Kaliṅga and Aśvaka, and that their *Rāṣṭradevatās* fought each other in the shape of two bulls, black and white.[61]

In between Dakṣiṇa Kośala and Kaliṅga there was an extensive forest-kingdom known as Mahākāntāra in the time of Samudragupta. That country was under a royal family whose members were described as "*Stambheśvarī Pādabhakta*" or the devout worshippers at the feet of goddess Stambheśvarī. The country itself was subsequently known as Gondrama.

A copper-plate inscription discovered in Terāsiṅgā (Kalāhāṇḍi District) discloses that about the 4th or 5th century A.D.[62] there was a local king named Tuṣṭikāra, who was a worshipper of Stambheśvarī. This deity is called Bhagavatī in the copper-plate grant. Since the shape of the goddess Stambheśvarī resembles a wooden pillar, corresponding to the Śabara image installed in every Śabara village, we may infer that originally a goddess, installed in the country of Gondrama inhabited by an aboriginal tribe was subsequently worshipped by king Tuṣṭikāra and after him by the Śulkis and the Bhañjas of Gondrama and Khiñjalimaṇḍala respectively. The goddess possessed the Sanskritised name, Stambheśvarī, given by the Brāhmaṇas. While discussing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, D. C. Sircar says, "Stambheśvarī was the family deity of the Śulkis of Orissa".[63] According to him, the representation of the goddess was probably made out on a Stambha indicating a Śivaliṅga. But, according to S. N. Rājaguru, it is an aboriginal goddess which was subsequently taken by the Brāhmaṇas. In this connection Rājaguru says, "In every village of these hill tribes we find one or two wooden pillars, small in size, and worshipped by villagers on ceremonial occasions". It is, therefore, probable that these pillar deities were named "Stambheśvarī" by the Sanskrit Paṇḍits who were mainly responsible for Aryanising these aboriginal deities. The Tantrayāna, which is called "*Sabarī Vidyā*", is nothing but a transformation of the religion of the Śabaras.[64] This is a glaring example of the blending of dogmatic belief in mysticism with primitive superstition. The human sacrifice which prevailed among these hill-tribes was adopted by the Aryans who assimilated it into their own religion and called it *Naramedha*. All these accounts give some idea as to how the so-called Hindu religion became an admixture of heterogenous cults embodying the precepts of different tribes in different times. In the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* we come across the name of the Śabaras as worshippers of the Goddess Kālī. Pargiter has rightly observed, "The Āryans met with religious practice and belief among the people whom they ruled over or came into lasting contact with and have assimilated among them gradually, thus modifying their own religion to a certain extent".[65]

Like the history of the god Nārāyaṇa or Svayaṁbhū in South Orissa (Kaliṅga) and that of the goddess Stambheśvarī in West Orissa (Gondrama), the history of another contemporary god in the Central and Eastern parts of Orissa (Tosalī) may be traced with the help of two copper-plate inscriptions of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.,[66] the Kaṇās plate of Lokavigraha and the Olasing Plate of Bhānu or Bhānuvardhana.[67] That god is called Maṇināgeśvara and was probably installed on the modern Maināka or Maṇināga mountain in Raṇapur in Puri District. Not far from Kaṇās and Olsingh where these copper-plates were discovered, there is a mountain called Maṇināga in the ex-State (Garjat) of Raṇapur on which there is a temple of Maṇināga, Today, the presiding deity is not traceable, and in his place a small image of a goddess is worshipped; but, it is quite significant that the goddess is still worshipped by the Khonds, an aboriginal tribe of Orissa.

The worship of Nāga is said to have originated among the aboriginal tribes, and in the Brahmanical age it was accepted by the Hindus as Baladeva, an incarnation of Śeṣa or Ananta Nāga. The Nāga-cult attained popularity throughout India from very early times, and the deity Baladeva was worshipped not merely as a demi-god but as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. At Remuṇā in Balasore district in North Orissa there is a single image of Baladeva, still worshipped as the incarnation of the Śeṣa or Ananta Nāga. At the mouth of the Suvarṇarekhā in the same part of the district, the temple of Maṇināga still stands. So, it can be inferred that in the country of Tosalī the image of Maṇināga was the popular *Rāṣṭradevatā* which in course of time came to be regarded as Baladeva. It is not improbable that after the downfall of the Śailodbhavas, when the countries of Koṅgada and Tosalī were ruled by the Bhauma-Karas, the gods Puruṣottama and Balabhadra and the goddess Stambheśvarī might have been worshipped as the *Rāṣṭradevatās* in the newly formed kingdom. This seems to have been one of the main factors in the evolution of the image type of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha which comprised three separate icons of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.

We should now discuss briefly the religious outlook of the Śabaras. According to a popular Śabara tradition, two brothers, Rāmā and Bhīmā, came[68] to the top of the Mahendra Mountain where they settled and occupied the entire range of mountains extending as far as the Vindhyas in Central India. Like many other tribal races, the Śabaras had a peculiar conception about their religion. They worshipped a large number of gods and demigods for the welfare of their country, their profession and their families. In all aspects of life, they believed that some supernatural power was responsible for their good or evil.[69] This idea induced them to absorb all the gods of different cults into their own pantheon. The Śabaras were not only accustomed to accept all gods and goddesses but also to worship them in their own way in crude forms. For example, in Sītābīñji in Keonjhar district (Orissa), they worshipped Sitā in the form of a stone image in a cave, thinking that, that was the place where Lava and Kuśa were born. We may further cite that the Liṅga of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam was discovered by the Śabaras, and subsequently taken over by the Brāhmanas in the time of the Gaṅgas.[70]

Originally the Śabaras spread over a wide region. But, when the Brāhmaṇas migrated to these same regions, they found that these Śabaras worshipped several gods and goddesses whom they called in their language "Kituṅg". The new settlers did not disturb their practice and were not keen to install their own gods lest they should injure aboriginal sentiment. But, on the other hand, they themselves tried to worship the local gods by Sanskritising their names as in the case of the goddess Stambheśvarī and Svayaṁbhū. It is not out of place to mention here that the term "Svayaṁbhū" was not only used by the Brāhmanical priests for

Śiva or Brahmā but also by the Jaina *gurus* for the Tīrthaṅkaras.[71] We have already said that the land of the Śabaras extended from the feet of the Mahendra as far as the Vindhya mountains within which Śabarīnārāyaṇa is situated (vide map). In this connection the following observation made by Rev. J. Long during his visit to Orissa in January 1859 may be quoted.

"Antiquarian enquiries in Nepal, Ceylon and China show that the Buddhism so noted in its regard for enlightening the masses and opposing caste, was for ages predominant all through Orissa both among rulers and people, though Orissa be now the garden of the Hinduism and Jagannāth its Jerusalem. Even Jagannāth itself stands on the site of a Buddhist temple and contained the celebrated tooth of Buddha, which was kept there till the 4th century A.D." "When it was carried for a short period to Patna, the ancient Palibothra then the capital of North India, it was soon after brought back to Puri, but on an invasion of the country, it was conveyed in A.D. 311 by a king's daughter concealed in her hair to Ceylone, which was then becoming a place of refuge to the Buddhists from the Brahmin's rage. Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf have established from the evidence of manuscripts, inscriptions on pillars and rocks etc. that Buddhism was the State religion of India from the days of Aśoka from the 3rd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. while the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien & Hiuen-Tsang give us information of its prevalence up to the 7th century A.D."

Long has rightly observed that "there are various points besides this, in connection with Jagannātha, which seem to indicate that it was an eclectic system selecting from different sects and incorporating all ; thus, though Jagannātha gives much ascendancy to the Vaiṣṇavas, yet the Paṇḍās at Jagannāth all belong to the Śākta sect of the Śaivites ; they do not, however, practise those horrible obscene rites observed by the same sect of Sāntipur."[72]

The theory applied in the case of Svayaṁbhū of the Mahendra is also applicable to certain images of Central India at Sirpur which have the same iconographic features. Cunningham's view may be quoted here in connection with the image of Śabarī Nārāyaṇa. He attempts to attribute to it the features of Buddha : "The figure inside is said to be of black stone about 3 feet high, it represents a two armed and two-legged seated human figure. The legs crossed, one hand resting on the thigh, the other below the chest held horizontally. The statue is said to be precisely that At Rājim known as Rājīvalocana's, and like it is clearly Buddhist resembling the great statue of Buddha at Rajjhana and about the same also in height ; they are, however, full statues and not altorelievos. At the extremity of the Colonnade built in front of the temple, is a statue said to be of Garuḍa. I could not see this or examine it, there is also a statue of Hanumān. To the right of the entrance of the temple is a loose pilaster with a sculptured figure similar to the pilasters described at Siripur ; this female figure is now known as the statue of Śavarī. The legend is that here Śabarī worshipped Rāma, and as a boon asked that her name should precede his ; hence the name of the place Śabarīnārāyaṇa (shortened to Śeorinārāyaṇa) which was also later named as Śavarīpur.[73] "This place is within a distance of about 3 miles from the confluence of the River Jonk and the Mahānadī. This is the religious seat of the Pāṇḍus which is popularly known as Śabarīnārāyaṇa. According to a traditional account, it is the place where Rāmachandra on his way to south met Śabarī who worshipped him with ripe mangoes. So, the image of Nārāyaṇa being associated with the name, Śabarī, has been worshipped there. It is situated on the left bank of the Mahānadī below its junction with the Jonk river ; it was a very important place of pilgrimage. According to Cunningham, it is "a well known place of pilgrimage and being on the route to Puri from Central India, always contains a number of pilgrims *en route*."[74] Saralā Dās, a famous poet of Orissa of the early 14th century, suggests that Jagannātha was brought to Puri from Śavarī nārāyaṇa.[74a]

The age to which the sculptures and monuments of this locality belong is an important period in the integration of different religions, viz., Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

We need not imagine that the place assumed importance suddenly in the time of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings of Kośala. We have to trace the sanctity of the locality to a more remote antiquity with the help of some relics of Buddha and Jaina images found there. Although we have no evidence of the existence of any Jain or Buddhist king in that locality, we know that some Buddhist monks like Nāgārjuna lived in that area.

Actually, remnants of these religions are traceable in the vicinity of Śavarīpur or Sirpur, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī kings, who were called *Sakalakośaladhipati*. Immediately after Mahāśiva Tivaradeva, his successor Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna praised his family god Narasiṃha, who is taken by the praśasti-writer as Puruṣottama, for he starts with the maṅgalācaraṇa *"Om Namo Puruṣottamāya*."[75]

When we turn to Buddhist literature, we find that some aboriginal gods and goddesses were taken by the Mahāyānists into their own pantheon. According to Tārānātha, Mahāsiddha Śavarī was an important monk who converted the minister and the king of Orissa and one Maitra or Maitragupta who afterwards lived in Nālandā.[76] The goddess Parṇa-Śabarī is highly regarded in the Mahāyāna School.[77] It is clearly evident that the Śabaras of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Kaliṅga and Koṅgada were closely associated not only with the Brāhmaṇas but also with the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

The Śabaras also took into their pantheon some Brāhmanical gods and goddesses along with the Lord Jagannātha. They worshipped their god under the name of Kitung who are ten in number and are regarded as brothers. Their names are Bhīmā, Rāmā, Hodepulu, Peda, Rungjung, Tumernna, Garsada, Jaganta, Mutta and Teata.[78] The Śabara tribe as a whole, according to the present tradition, has been classified into seven sections out of which one is known as Jārā Śabara. This class of Śabaras mostly live in the confluence of the Indrāvatī and Śābarī in the Western part of Orissa. A family of the Jārā Śabara tribe is known as Rāju or the king of the tribe. Their family deity is Nīlamādhava whom they worship in their own primitive and crude way. A place called Dārkoṇḍā situated on the borders of the modern Andhra and Madhyabhārat is their religious centre where the said Nīlamādhava is installed. To reach Dārkoṇḍā one has to proceed from Narsanpattam Road railway station by bus to Chintapalli, and from there to Sarapapalam village and then to Krishnadevapetta which is about two miles from Dārkoṇḍā. The name Dārkoṇḍā we presume, is a synonym of Dvārakanda or the hill which was formerly the gateway between Kaliṅga and Dakṣiṇakośala.

The deity of Nīlamādhava is four armed having all the four attributes of Viṣṇu. Further the Rājus used to go to Nīlamādhava of Kaṇṭillo (Orissa) as their centre of religion which they consider to be the holy land of their family. There are a number of Mādhava images found in different parts of Orissa known as Niāli Mādhava, Lalita Mādhava, Gaṅgā Mādhava, Śabarī Mādhava and Mudgala Mādhava, etc. It appears that there are fourteen Mādhava *pīṭhas* in Orissa. The reason is, that Nīlamādhava is the previous form of the present Jagannātha, worshipped in Nīlācala. The ancient name of Jagannātha which is still in vogue in Śabara villages in Orissa is "Jaganaelo" made of wood. The name of the deity in the Śabara languages is *Sonam* and the images have the name of Kituṅg. Of all Kituṅgs, Jaganaelo is the greatest and he is called the Lord of all the Lords and the Lord of the universe, according to Śabaras.

Buddhist influence on the Śabaras was not only confined to the southern and western portions of Orissa, but also present in the north-east. About the 5th or 6th century A.D., the present districts of Balasore and Keonjhar happened to be the seats of the Mahāyānists who used to worship their gods and goddesses in association with the Śabaras. For example, in Sitābiñji (Keonjhara District) there are some monuments of that period where the Śabaras act as the main priests. In course of time, the Brāhmaṇas associated with them, and the former installed some Śaivite images such as those of Mukhaliṅga, Gaṇeśa, and Kārtikeya. In the district of Balasore, where the Suvarṇarekhā falls into the sea, there existed some Buddhist Vihāras, and a large number of the Mahāyānists, belonged to the Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha. This fact came to light from a recently discovered copper-plate inscription of the time of Mahārāja Gopacandra at Balasore, who gave his consent to one Acyuta, a subordinate king of his, to donate some lands in favour of the Ārya Saṅgha for establishing a *Vihāra* and for worshipping the god Avalokiteśvara.[79]

There was a mutual understanding between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhist Śramaṇas. Most probably, that understanding continued in this country from the time of Aśoka. But, towards the beginning of the first half of the 7th century a political and religious contest ensued between two groups of rulers headed by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, who was a Buddhist on one side, and Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa who was a Hindu on the other. That is the time when Hiuen-Tsang visited this land and when Harṣa extended his support to the University of Nālandā, a popular seat of learning.[80] His rival Śaśāṅka attempted to spread the Brāhmanical religion in eastern and north-eastern India so that, according to a Buddhist literary work, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,[81] Śaśāṅka was condemned as a notorious iconoclast while, in the *Ekāmrapurāṇa* and the *Kapila Saṁhitā* of the Brāhmaṇas he was praised for his great achievement relating to the establishment of Śaivism in Ekāmra-Kṣetra.[82]

Towards the end of the middle age the rivalry between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas took definite shape. We presume that their differences started long before Śaśāṅka when the Guptas brought Orissa under their control. The Bhāskaresvara temple at Bhubaneśwar had a Buddhist lion-capital which was discovered in the precincts of that temple and which is now an exhibit in the Orissa State Museum ; it bears some inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. It clearly indicates that in the later part of the Gupta age, an attempt was made to destroy some Buddhist monasteries and to replace them by Śaiva temples.[83] The result was that many Buddhist images were set up in the Hindu temples ; this can still be noticed in different places of Orissa. Students of iconography, however, cannot positively identify and fix the exact period of these hybrid images.

The Midnapore Plates of Somadatta and Śubhakīrti reveal the religious outlook of the people of this country at the time of Śaśāṅka. The relevant passage from the said inscriptions is quoted below.[84]

> *"Viṣṇoḥ Potāgrabiksepa Kṣaṇabhāvita Sādhyasām*
> *Seṣā śeṣa śiromadhya madhyāsīnamahātanu*
> *Kāmārātiśro bhraṣṭa Gangaughaghadhvasta Kalmaṣāṃ*
> *Śrī Śaśāṅke Mahīmpāte catur jaladhimekhalām."*

Dr. R. C. Majumdar translates this verse as follows :—

"While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth ; whose girdle is formed by the four oceans, whose sins are washed by the Ganges fallen from the head of the enemy of the Cupid, i.e. Śiva, whose great body is placed in the infinite hoods of the Śeṣa and who was agitated when Viṣṇu (in the form of a boar) cast his snout (to raise her)"...

A few years after the death of Śaśāṅka, the Chinese traveller, Hiuen-Tsang, visited the land of Koṅgada—the present-day Puri and Ganjam districts—where he noticed one hundred Deva temples and about ten thousand Tīrthikas.[85] It reminds us of the *yogis* and *munis* (sages) in the forest tracts of Koṅgada who, by undergoing many physical hardships, which are described in the Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty, attempted to attain salvation. Here, the court poet makes a comparison between the practice of austerities by these *siddhas* and *yogis* of the forest-area and the performance of *yajña* by a king like Madhyamarāja in his abode. According to him, the latter is an easier process of attaining salvation. It shows that the court-poet indirectly condemns the *yogis* and *siddhas* in the Banpur plates and supports the action of Madhyamarāja. Therefore, our conclusion should be that the Brāhmaṇas of that age tried to ignore the yogic practices of the Buddhist monks and Jaina *Sādhakas*.[86]

Towards the close of the 7th century A.D., Koṅgada was ruled by Dharmarāja, whose queen Kalyāṇadevī donated lands to a *Guru* named Ekajaṭā Prabuddhacandra, a disciple of Darhadācārya Nāsicandra. From these names we presume that Kalyāṇadevī was either a Jaina or a Buddhist. It is not out of place to point out here that a large number of Buddhist images, made of different metals, have recently been excavated from the banks of the river Sāliā (Sālimā) at Banpur (Puri district). These are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneśwar. These images belong to the School of the Tāntric Buddhist of the Vajrayāna sect. It is interesting to note that Banpur is an important seat of Tāntrism for the goddess Bhagavatī, who is supposed to have been worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas when the assimilation of the Buddhist Vajrayāna or Tantrāyana with the Brahmanical Tantrism took place.

The metal images of the Banpur hoard belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. This was the time when the kingdom of Koṅgada was conquered by the Bhauma-kara kings who embraced Buddhism. It is quite probable that the difference between the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas which appeared in the time of the Śailodbhavas disappeared after the Bhaumas came into prominence. There was an attempt to create harmony in the religious sphere of this country by assimilating the pantheon of the Buddhist Tantrism into that of the Brāhmanical Śāktism.

We cannot definitely establish the historical importance of Puri on archæological and epigraphical grounds before the 7th century A.D. The temple architecture, as well as some of the celebrated monuments of the locality, cannot be deemed anterior to that period. It is strange that although there are references to Puruṣottama in the earlier Purāṇas, we have so far not been able to find any epigraphical record pertaining to Puruṣottama before the 7th century A.D. There is no mention of even the name of Nīlācala or Nīlagiri in the inscriptions prior to the 7th century A.D.

A reference can justifiably be made here to a commonly prevalent notion that the temple of Jagannātha is on a mountain and therefore it is called Nīlādri, Nīlācala or Nīlagiri. But, neither is the temple situated on a mountain, nor is there any mountain in the vicinity of Puri. The temple is really situated on a sand hill and is called Nīlagiri (Blue Mountain) only on grounds of analogy. The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneśwara is called Svaraṇādri or Svarṇagiri though this temple too is not on a mountain. Most probably, it is called so because Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, has several names as Hemakūṭa, Svarṇakūṭa or Svarṇagiri etc. and one of the names has been chosen for the Liṅgarāja temple. So, it may be presumed that the name Nīlagiri was adopted for the Jagannātha temple because the name Svarṇādri was used for the Liṅgaraj temple. It is also probable that because of the lofty structure of the temple of Jagannātha it came to be metaphorically compared with a hill or *giri*, from which it assumed the name "Nīlagiri". And, as the local tradition goes, a sand-hill did actually exist.

The Bhaumas adopted Buddhism and established their capital in Virañjānagara or the present Jajpur in the Cuttack District. They had no malice against other religions in their kingdom. Not far from their capital there is a family god of their own called Guheśvara who was installed in a town named Guheśvarapāṭaka. The temple of Virajā in Jajpur or Virañjā-Nagara was quite popular in their reign when the Tāntric cult was prevalent. We come across the names of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra for the first time in the copper-plate inscriptions of Śubhākaradeva I of this dynasty. This aspect of the topic will be discussed in the next chapter. It is quite probable that the god Nīlamādhava *alias* Puruṣottama, was popularly worshipped by the Buddhist Bhauma-karas, and it is they who marked the insignia of the Lord Buddha in that image, adopting some rites and festivals borrowed from Buddhist ritualism. For example, the Car Festival which is an important and significant feature relating to the Lord Puruṣottama might have partly originated from Buddhist influence.

Now, the question is whether the name Puruṣottama was adopted in the kingdom of Bhaumas sometime during or after the 8th century A.D., or was the name already in use in Kaliṅga in the early Gaṅga regime. In this connection we may refer to a copper-plate inscription of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 308 where we get the name of a village granted by him on the top of the Mahendra mountain as Purujavana or *Puruṣavana.*[87] The name *Puruṣottama* as a village existed during the Gaṅga rule. B. Ch. Chhabra who edited the grant has not discussed the topography of Purujavana or the forest (*vana*) where Puruṣa or the Lord (Viṣṇu) was installed. It is not improbable that the name Purujavana or Puruṣavana of the inscription was changed later into Purusathama or Puruṣottama. The god Nīlamādhava *aliàs* Puruṣottama, was adored not only by Brāmaṇas and Buddhists but also by Jains who accepted him as a Tīrthaṅkara in their Pantheon which is referred to in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* by Hemachandra.[88]

The Bhaumas ruled the country for about two hundred years beginning from the first half of the 8th century until the dynasty became extinct and the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala succeeded them. These Bhaumas, who used the titles *Paramasaugata* and *Paramatathāgata* later styled themselves as *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramavaiṣṇava.* It is a clear indication that they changed their religion within a century of their rule, i.e. in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Before this, the popularity of Puruṣottama and Baladeva is known from epigraphical sources, namely the Neulpur grant of Śubhakara I, where these names occur.

It will now be necessary to refer to the political and religious development that took place during the Bhauma-kara supremacy in Orissa. These kings are supposed to have migrated from Assam where a branch of their dynasty existed from earlier times. In Orissa they introduced their *Samvat*; it has been proved on the basis of astronomical calculations that this *Samvat* was started from A.D. 736.[89] So, there is little doubt that some time close to that date, the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgada disappeared from the History of Orissa, and their kingdom was merged in Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī. The Śailodbhavas had experienced trouble not only from the west or from the country of Dakṣiṇa Kośala from the time of Tīvaradeva, but also from the Gaṅgas in the south as well as from the Bhaumas in the north.

After Tribhuvana Mahādevī, the mother of Śubhakaradeva II, two other queens lived in this family, Dharmā and Daṇḍī. They ruled the country up to the Bhauma *samvat* 180 (A.D. 916) after which the family became extinct.[90] These last two queens are described as *Paramavaiṣṇavī.* According to the Hindola Plate of Śubhākaradeva of the Bhauma-kara family, the donor Śubhākara, the son of Śāntikara and grandson of *Paramasugata* Śubhākara I, granted a village named Naddile in Uttara Toṣlı at the request of one Pulindarāja for the worship of the god Vaidyanātha.[91] It proves that in the 9th century A.D. the Pulindas of Toṣalī used to worship Brahmanical deities like the Vaidyanātha with the permission of a

Buddhist king. While the Bhauma-karas and the Gaṅgas were powerful in Toṣalī and Kaliṅga respectively, there lived the Somavaṁśi kings in Dakṣiṇa Kośala, the capital of which was at Suvarṇapura or the modern Sonepur in Balangir district of Orissa.[92] These kings extended their kingdom from the district of Sambalpur in the north-east as far as Kalahandi and Koraput in the south. Within this tract, several subordinate chiefs ruled under them. Popular tradition in Orissa goes that one Yayātikeśarī revived Brāhmanism in Orissa by inviting Brāhmaṇas from Northern India and by performing *yajñas* on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī at Virajākṣetra. This traditional account is corroborated by epigraphical records where we get information regarding the migration of the Bāhmaṇas from places like Srāvasti,[93] Hastipada,[94] and Ṭakkari[95]. Due to the migration of the Brāhmaṇas, Śabarī-Nārāyaṇa, the composite family deity of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Mahākośala, came to be known as Puruṣottama-Nṛsiṁha in the Somavaṁśi period.

The worship of the god Cakradhara Mādhava, mentioned earlier in this chapter, started in Koṅgada at least before the 7th century A.D., when a Śailodbhava king, named Mādhavavarman, compared himself with the Bhagavān Cakradhara. Presumably, while transferring their capital of Dakṣiṇa Kośala from Sirpur to Suvarṇapur near Bauda, the Somavaṁśi kings should have sought for a place with physical features similar to those of their previous capital. It is interesting to note that archæologically and stylistically the temple of Nīlamādhava at Gandharāḍi near Baud was constructed long before the present Jagannātha temple at Puri. Therefore, we may infer that the incorporation of the deities of some aboriginal tribes in Orissa was accomplished from two different directions : (1) the Mahendra region of Kaliṅga and (2) Śabarīnārāyaṇa of Dakṣiṇa Kośala.

The Mahānadī or Chitrotpalā flowed through the regions of the early Pāṇḍu-vaṁśi kings of Sirpur in Dakṣiṇa Kośala with its group of temples at Rājim and Śabarīnārāyaṇa, and through the newly developed Suvarṇapura of the Somavaṁśī kings while it also drained in the districts of Puri and Cuttack. It may be suggested that civilisation progressed through the course of this river to the coastal regions of Orissa from the far-away hinterland of Madhya Bhārata. We get a number of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu under the name of Mādhava on the lower course of this river. The temples at Gandharāḍi and Koṇṭilo are two examples for our consideration of the Mādhava cult, which later spread to the coastal district of Puri under the names of Lalita Mādhava, Niāli Mādhava, Nipāṇiā Mādhava etc. We learn from an inscription in the temple of Śobhaneśvara at Niālimādhava that there lived a Nāgavaṃśi king named Vaidyanātha.[96] He built the temple in a place called Bhujaṅgamapuri. It is possible that a branch of the Nāgavaṁśi kings of Cakrakoṭa of Central India might have come to the coastal tracts of Orissa along with the Somavaṁśi kings who captured the country after the decline of the Bhauma-kara kings. The god Nīlamādhava, which, according to tradition, was worshipped by the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu, was ultimately transformed into Puruṣottama Jagannātha. The following extract from a palm-leaf manuscript entitled" *Jārāsabar Vaṁśa Bibaraṇi* "(Dynastic Account of the Jārāsabaras), recently secured by Sri S. N. Rajguru from the Village-Dimirijholā in Parlakhemundi Taluk, proves that originally the deity was worshipped by Śabaras on the Mahendra Mountain.

" Long ago, there lived on the Mahendra Mountain twelve families of the Śabara tribe who built for them twelve houses. They were known as the *Bāra-Ghariās* (twelve settlers). They used to worship and protect their supreme Lord *Nīlamādhava* which was installed in the form of a divine log (*Dārubrahma*) and was worshipped by Satrusala Śabara who lived in a Śabara village on the summit of the Mahendra Mountain.

Once upon a time, a king named Indradyumna of the Maga Clan wanted to remove the Lord Nīlamādhava from the Śavara village. For fulfilment of this object, he captured the Śavara-Satrusala whom he confined but soon liberated when he heard a divine voice to set him free. The same voice advised him to construct a lofty temple at Nīlakandara(Puri). Accordingly, the temple was built ; but where was the deity (image) ? The king, then employed a Brāhmaṇa named Vidyāpati, in search of the deity, Nīlamādhava. The Brāhmaṇa started for the Śavara village on the *Mahendragiri* (Mahendra Mountain) where he met a handsome Śavara girl named Lalitā and fell in love with her and at last married her.

Being a spy, employed by the King Indradyumnya, Vidyāpati was all the time searching for the deity whom he could spot-out in the dense forest of the locality and sent the news immediately to the king where upon some young men of the Śavara tribe were appointed to bring the sacred log(Dārubrahma) for building the images of the supeme lord.

According to the wishes of the king, the sacred log was removed from its original place and brought to a port called Bānkimuhāṇa near puri. From there with great pomp and celebrity the log was taken to the temple where three images were built as they are seen up to the present day. It is believed that the God himself had appeared before the king in the guise of an old carpenter who undertook the task of building the deities on condition that the doors of the temple should be kept closed until completion of his work. But, that condition was not duly honoured by the king. So, the images remained half finished." This assimilation of Nīlamādhava with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha appears to have been a remarkable feature of

Orissan Vaiṣṇavism. That the iconographic complex of Jagannātha constituted of various elements taken from Brāhmanism, Buddhism and non-Aryan cults has been demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter.

There is every probability that the god Nārāyaṇa was installed on the Mahendra Mountain where he was worshipped by the Māṭharas for a long time. There might have been also, prior to this period, some unknown god worshipped by the Śabaras on the same mountain. Now, when the Māṭharas came, they over-powered the Śabaras, and it is not unlikely that they, on the acquisition of the deity worshipped by the Śabaras, Aryanised the same and began to worship it at the same place. Next came the Gaṅgas and the deity was similarly worshipped by them in the name of Gokarṇeśvara because of their faith in Śaivism. The same deity began to be worshipped as Svayaṁbhū by the Śailodbhavas. Now, the Śailodbhavas were the worshippers of both Śiva and Viṣṇu which is evident from their records. This is also corroborated by the fact that they were worshipping Cakradhara Mādhava or Bhagavān Mādhava as mentioned in their grants in Koṅgada area in which Puruṣottama *Kṣetra* is situated. Their love and respect towards the god Mādhava is very often recorded in their charters, as they seem to compare themselves with Bhagavān Cakradhara although they are Śaivas. This shows that they were certainly patronising the god. We also have another god Maṇināga *alias* Balabhadra in the 6th century and a goddess namely Stambheśvarī in the 4th century A.D. in Toṣali and Gondrama areas respectively. There is no evidence at our disposal to suggest anything definitely regarding the removal of Nārāyaṇa Mādhava of the Mahendragiri and Koṅgada Maṇḍala to Puri. But, the god came to be closely associated with the place, and many other places in Koṅgada Maṇḍala came to have shrines with the deities bearing the same names. It is probable that during the time of the Śailodbhavas the deity was removed to Kṛṣṇagiri and subsequently to Nilagiri. There is another god called *Nandagirinātha* worshipped by the *Svetaka Gaṅgas*. It is likely that the conception of Nandagirinātha or Kṛṣṇagirinātha later on gave rise to *Nilagirināth*-Jagannātha.

In this way various primitive gods came to be absorbed in the Brāhmanical Religion. The resultant composite god was Puruṣottama, and his cult assimilated diverse features belonging to different sects. This is the reason why we find even today the remnants of different ritual performances associated with a single religious system in this land.[97] Wilkins rightly doubts whether Jagannātha had originally any connection with Lord Viṣṇu. He admits the possibility of Jagannātha being a local deity of some unknown tribe whose worship was engrafted into Hinduism and the new god, when admitted into the pantheon, was regarded as another manifestation. But, his view that it was Buddhism which played a most important part in the developing concept of the god and the form of its icon, requires some modification.

As we have already said, it is the heterogeneous ritualistic practice in this temple that leads us to divergent theories in respect of its origin. But, so far as the religious development is concerned, we have already considered the historical data from age to age to find out how the religious attitude and faith of the people as well as of the rulers operated in evolving the cult of Jagannātha. The cult, which is not derived from any particular religious system, is a combination of many religious thoughts and ideas current in this and the adjoining regions.

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2. *C.I.I.* Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXXVIII.
3. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 151-152.
4. Soro Plate of Somadatta. E.I. Vol. XXIII, p. 202 text.
5. For the story of Tapasu and Bhallika, see Olden Berg's *Vinaya Piṭaka* 1. 3 and *Aṅguttaranikāya* Part I, Ch. X, p. 36.
6. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 223.
7. *Select Inscriptions* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, pp. 35-36.
8. See Line 17 of the Inscriptions of Khāravela. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, December, 1917, p. 146.
9. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.
10. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, pp. 203 & 206.
11. *E.I.* Vol. VI, p. 144.
12. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 86.
13. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, pp. 89-90.
14. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 244.
15. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, p. 7.
16. *The Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Rajatajayantī grantha*, Hindi Edition Article by S. N. Rājaguru, p. 77.
17. Sri S. N. Rājaguru while editing the Gandivedha coins of Śrī Nanda, says that these coins belonged to the Māṭhara family of Kaliṅga as the box-head character is found on them. According to him, the Māṭhara rule extended upto the district of Balasore (Orissa) where these coins were discovered.

    Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, part II, p. 71.
18. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Prākrit Inscriptions of Śāntamūla I of the last part of the 3rd century A.D., mention is made that his grand-father performed sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya. The kings of this dynasty were styled as Māṭharīputras as they established matrimonial relationship with the Māṭharas of Kaliṅga (D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 229).
19. *E.I.* Vol. XXX, pp. 112-113.
20. *E.I.* Vol. XXVII, p. 36.
21. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, p. 97. Article—South India and Ceylon.
22. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, pp. 97-98.

23. Ceylon Lectures ; Lecture No. II, 1945.
24. *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-4, pp. 97-98.
25. *Silap. Preface I*, Vol. XXIII, p. 47 and Preface II, pp. 133-140. Mani. Vol, XXVI, II, pp, 15-17.
26. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, Nos. 3 & 4 and Bilhari Stone Inscription, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 52.
27. The Ningondi Plates, *E.I.* Vol. XXX, pp. 117-118.
28. The Chicacole Plates, *I.A.* Vol. XIII, 1884, p. 49 and Bobili Plates, E.I. XXVII, pp. 33-36.
29. *E.I.* Vol. XXVI, p. 134.
30. Indian History Congress, Proceedings—21st session, 1958, p. 113.
31. Plate No. 2.
32. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 370.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 213.
34. *The Mahābhārata* III, 114, 17-24 ślokas.
35. Plate II, Kunti Deual on the Mahendra mountains.
36. *I.A.* Vol. XVIII, p. 165. Korni Plates of Ananta Varman Chodagaṅga.
37. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, Apendix I and *I.H.Q.* Vol. XXXVI, 1960, pp. 261-264.
38. Raipur Copper Plate Inscription of Mahāsudevarāj, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 295 and Rajim Plates of Tivaradeva, Ibid, p. 291.
39. According to Mirashi the Gaṅga-era started from A.D. 498 (*E.I.* Vol. XXVII), p. 192, and according to S. N. Rājagurū it started in A.D. 626, *Ins. Or.* Vol. II, Appendix No. I.
40. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, p. 155 and Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, Part II, p. 95.
41. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, p. 156.
42. Baloda Plates, *E.I.*, Vol. VII , p. 102 and for Rajim Plates, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III.
43. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 25-25.
44. *I.A.* Vol. VIII, pp. 278-82.

"Āsīt Udayanonāma nṛpate Śabarānvaya Abhūdva
labhidātulyastatmādindrabalo bali tataḥ Śrī
Nānnadevo bhudabhimāna mahodayaḥ."

Sirpur Inscription, No. I, Plate No. XVIII, *A.S.I.* Vol. XVII.

45. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 167.
46. *A.S.R.* 1881-82, Vol. XVIII, pp. 8-9.
47. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

"Taradamśaka Pratiṣṭhita Kīradevabhāryālakā kārita
vihārikānivāsicaturdaśāryabhikṣu-sahāya."

48. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
49. Watters on *Huien-tsang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 200.
50. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 215 and Chandesvar Plate of Dharmarāja, *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. II, pp. 59-72.
51. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 193, Lines 31-37.

"Kecidvanyamṛgeṇa sārdhamacaran
stāṁstāṃsthitirlīlayā
Kecid dagdhamukhā sahasra kiraṇa
Jvālāvalī prekṅṣiṇaḥ
Kecid valkalina stathājinavarāḥ
Kecid jaṭādhāriṇaḥ

Nānārūpadharāstapantimunayo
divyāspadākāṁkṣiṇaḥ

* * * *

Citraṃ Madhyamarājadevaguṇadhṛk
rājyepi tatprāptavān."

52. Khurda Plates of Madhyamarāja. *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol. I, Part II, pp. 167-68 and *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXIII, 1904, pp. 282-286 and *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 163, Lines 13-14.

"Natasakala Kaliṅgādhipatyaḥ
Sakala kalāvāpta kimūrta jagatāpramadaḥ
Prāvṛtta cakraścakradharao
Bhagavān Mādhava Śrī Mādhavarājaḥ kuśalī."

53. *Indian Culture,* Vol. XV, Nos. 1-4, p. 181.
54. *Inscriptions of Orissa,* Vol. I, Part II, p. 167. Buguda Plates of Madhava Varma, No. 34.
55. The aboriginal tribe of the Pulindas is mentioned in the early Brāhminical literature like *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.* They had a country of their own called Pulindarāj-rāṣṭra as referred to in a grant of Mahārāj Hastin of the Gupta era 198 or A.D. 518. *E.I.* Vol. XXI, pp. 124-26.
56. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXXIII, 1904, Part I, p. 282.
57. Generally we find the wooden images are worshipped by the aboriginals—Śabaras.
58. *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, pp. 271-73.
59. *India & Java,* pp. 65-66 and 71. Bijon Ray Chatterjee's India and Java.
60. *India and Java,* pp. 60-61.
61. *The Jatakas* by E. B. Cowell, Vol. III, No. 301, p. 4.
62. *J.A.S.B.,* Vol. VII, New Series, pp. 43-47.
63. *E.I.* Vol. XXVIII, Pt. III, pp. 107-112.
64. *J.K.H.R.S.,* Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 251-252.
65. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* p. 3.
66. *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. III, pp. 261-266 and E.I. Vol. XXVIII, p. 331.
67. *O.H.R.J.* Vol. II, pp. 31-46 and E.I. Vol. XXVIII, p. 331.
68. *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. III, p. 110.
69. *Castes and Tribes of Central India* by Russel, Vol. II, pp. 335-336 and Vol. IV, pp. 502-505.
70. *Indo-Aryan Culture,* Vol. II, 1953-54, p. 122.
71. *Abhidhānacintāmoṇi,* p. 9, Ślokas 24-25 (Devakāṇḍa). The name Svayambhū is mentioned among the other Tirthaṅkaras.
72. *J.A.S.B.* 1859, No. III, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 185-187, notes and queries suggested by a visit to Orissa in January 1859 by Rev. J. Long.
73. *A.S.I.,* Vol. VII, pp. 196-198.
74. *Ibid,* Vol. VII, p. 196.
75. *E.I.* Vol. XI, p. 190.
76. *Mystic Tales of Tārānāth,* pp. 11-12.
77. In the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan* he is described as having belonged to hill tribe called Śabaras or Huntsmen in Bengali where he met Nāgārjuna during the latter's stay in that country, *Sādhanamālā*—Introduction, p. XLVI.
78. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* Vol. VI, p. 335.
79. The copper-plate Inscription has been edited by S. N. Rājguru, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. V, p. 53.

80. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 38-39. See *Gupta Rule in Orissa.*
81. *Mañjuśrimūlakalpa* quoted by Jayswal in his "Imperial History of India", p. 53.
82. *The Ekrāmrapurāṇa*, Oriya Edition by late Pandit Ratnākar Gargavatu and Kapila Saṁhitā, Ch. XIV, p. 78.
83. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi's *Archaeological remains at Bhubaneśwara*, p. 186.
84. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 7-8 and Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 142-143.
85. Watters—(Ywan Chwang) *Hiuen-tsang Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 196.
86. Banpur Plates of Dharmarāj, *E.I.* Vol. XXIX, p. 43.
87. *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, p. 73 and Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. II.
88. *Abhidhāna Cintāmani, p.* 9, Śloka 25, Devakāṇḍa.
89. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. IV, p. 69, and Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and Somavaṁśis of Orissa, pp. 8-9.
90. *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 79.
91. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 81-82.
92. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 45-55.
    See also Mādalāpāñji & Pyārimohan Acharya's History of Orissa in Oriya, Ch. II, p. 24.
93. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, p. 245.
94. *Ibid*, p. 138.
95. *E.I.* Vol. III, p. 348.
96. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 338. The author of this inscription may be identified with the author of the temple inscription of Anantavāsudeva of Bhubaneśwar who lived in the time of Narasiṅgha I of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.
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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF JAGANNĀTHA

(*From the 7th century A.D. upto the present time*)

The Bhaumas ruled the country of Toṣalī from the 1st half of the 8th to the 1st half of the 10th century A.D.[1] Their capital was situated at Guheśvara Pāṭaka, which is identified with a place not far from the modern Jajpur or the Virajā Kṣetra. The Bhaumas, towards the close of their rule, adopted Vaiṣṇavism as their state-religion. They were succeeded by the Somavaṁśi kings who came from Dakṣiṇa Kośala during the time of Mahāśivagupta Yajāti II.[2] He was so noble and powerful that in his Sonepur grant he was highly praised by his court-poet[3] thus: *Karnāṭa-Lāṭa Gurjareśvara-dāhajvara, Kāñci-kalāpābharaṇa-lampaṭaḥ, Kaliṅga-Koṅgadotkala-Kośala-svayamvaraḥ, Prasiddha-Gauḍa-Rāḍhāmvara-prakarṣaṇotghāta-māruta Sitāṁśu-vaṁśa-vimalāmbara-pūrṇacandraḥ, Svabhujopārjita-Trikaliṅgādhipati-parama māheś-vara-Śrī Mahābhavagupta-pādānudhyāta-Paranamita-rajña prasevita-Padāravinda-yugalaḥ-Śrī Mahāśivagupta-Śrī Yayātidevaḥ.* From the *Praśasti* it is evident that he defeated the kings of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kāñci, Kaliṅga and Utkala including Gauḍa and Rāḍha. We may infer that such a powerful king who became the possessor of enormous wealth by the conquest of the aforesaid countries, might also have constructed some temples. After the extinction of the Bhaumas, their accumulated wealth must have passed on to this king, who, being religious minded and a follower of the Brāhmanical faith, might have utilised them for the above purpose. This was almost a convention among the rulers in those days. It is possible, therefore, that Yayāti used a large part of this wealth for building a temple for the family deity of the Bhaumas who accepted Vaiṣṇavism towards the last part of their rule. This assumption is strengthened by an information furnished by the *Mādalāpāñji* which supports the fact that Yayāti Keśarī was the king who constructed the temple of Jagannātha.[4]

If the identity of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II with Yayāti Keśarī of the *Mādalāpāñji* is accepted, then the tradition recorded in the text that the latter invited many Brāhmaṇas from Northern India for the performance of *Yajñas* at Jājpur, his capital town, may also be accepted. The Somavaṁśi king Yayāti Keśari thus established Brāhmanism in the city which was previously a Buddhist centre. He also started the construction of the great temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara in honour of his own family-god, Maheśvara. This is also recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji*.[5]

Although we cannot accept every description of the *Mādalāpāñji* as historical truth, we cannot at the same time reject all its records. The construction of the temples of Lord Puruṣottama at Puri and of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvaneśvara remains as important as anything else because these are monumental works, and as such the tradition that credits the king Yayāti Keśarī as the founder of the great temples of Puri and Bhuvaneśvara may be given historical value. This is supported, to some extent, by the fact that Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II's power and greatness are described in epigraphical records and he is remarkably eulogised.

According to the Kalidindi grant of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne in 1022-23 A.D., the king worshipped Śrī Puruṣottama of Śrī Dhāma. This is mentioned in the invocation of his grant[6] which runs as follows :—

Śrīdhāmnaḥ Puruṣottamasya
mahato Nārāyaṇasya Prabhor-
Nābhi-pañkeruhāda bhava-
jagataḥ sraṣṭā svayambhūḥ smṛtaḥ.

From this we presume that Śrīdhāma or Śrīkṣetra (Puri), where Lord Puruṣottama was installed, attracted a king like Rāja Rāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, who happened to be a relation of Choḍagaṅga, the constructor of the present temple of Jagannātha.[6a] It is thus evident that Lord Puruṣottama was honoured and worshipped in Utkala long before its conquest by Choḍagaṅga. This corroborates our theory that it was Yayāti who really began the construction of the temple of Jagannātha, but left it incomplete. It was Choḍagaṅga who undertook the work and brought it to completion.

We may mention, in this connection, an important event as recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji*. This is known as the invasion of Raktabāhu that took place 146 years before the accession of Yayāti. This Raktabāhu is described as a Yavana who, coming with a large cargo along the sea-route, caused a great devastation at Puri. The people fled away in terror taking the image of Jagannatha for safety to Sonepur.[7] This terrible invasion, according to the *Pāñji*, took place just about a century and half before Yayāti Keśari reinstated the image in its original place, and got the title of Indradyumna II.[8] Now, we have to consider two factors which, we think, are absolutely necessary for the determination of the authenticity of this tradition. We should first calculate the exact time when this invasion took place, and secondly, identify, the Yavana king Raktabāhu, who was a terror to the worshippers of Jagannātha.

The whole story of the Raktabāhu's invasion, as recorded in the earlier manuscripts of the *Mādalāpāñji* was available to A. S. Sterling in its unmodified form.[9] Yayāti Keśarī of this story is to be identified with Yayāti I or Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, both of whom ruled in the 10th century A.D. Even if we suppose that the invasion of Raktabāhu is historical, it cannot be pushed back beyond the 8th century A.D. Hunter identifies Raktabāhu's invasion with the Greek invasion of Orissa ; but, this is not Supported by the history of Orissa.[10] R. D. Banerji considers it to be a Scythian invasion and thus thinks that the so-called Puri Kuśān Coins that are found all over Orissa were current during the Scythian period.[11] We cannot accept these two identifications of Hunter and Banerji because of the fact that the interval between Raktabāhu's invasion and the rule of Yayāti Keśarī has been given as only 146 years.

On the basis of these identifications, this interval will be, not 146 years, but several centuries. Besides, according to the *Pāñji*, Raktabāhu's invasion took place during the reign of Somavaṁśī king Śobhanadeva, and this Somavaṁśī is a mistake for Bhaumavaṁśi according to K. C. Panigrahi.[12] It has also been suggested by the same scholar that the invasion of Puri by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III is nothing but Raktabāhu's invasion as recorded in *Mādalāpāñji*.[13] But, there are no definite data which would enable us to accept Panigrahi's suggestion.

So far as the name of Raktabāhu is concerned, it tempts us to look to the Bāhu family of Ceylon, who had contacts with the kings of Kaliṅga, especially the Māṭharas, from a very early time. It might be that the name Raktabāhu was not properly pronounced by the authors of *Mādalāpāñji*. But, our stand is that, so far as the religious matters between Kaliṅga and Ceylon are concerned, there was not only the mutual association but perhaps there developed also some hostility on religious matters. We may presume that the king belonging to the Bāhu family of Ceylon or some one from Jāvā might have attacked Puri during the 8th century A.D. It is, however, true that no proper historical record is available to us as regards the actual time of this invasion.

Although Yayāti Keśarī II might have started the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama some time in the early part of the 10th century A.D., the work remained incomplete for some reason or other for a long time. It is true that his successors, who might have completed the temple of Kṛttivāsa (Liṅgarāja) at Bhuvaneśvara, did not pay much attention to the completion of the temple of Puruṣottama at Puri (as they were Śaivas). When Anantavarman Chodagaṅga undertook the incomplete work of Yayāti, the *Praśasti* writers of the Imperial Gaṅgas took pride to say much in favour of the king.[14] The relevant verses in the Gaṅga inscription run as follows :

Pādau yasya dharāntarīkṣamakhilaṁ
nābhistu sarvādiśaḥ
Śrotre netrayugaṁ ravīnduyugalaṁ
mūrddhāpica dyaurasau
Prāsādaṁ Puruṣottamasya nṛpateḥ ko nāma
karttuṁ kṣamaḥ.
Tasyetyādyanṛpairupekṣitamayaṁ cakretha
Gaṅgeśvaraḥ

"What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Puruṣottama, whose feet are the three worlds, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and the moon, and whose head the heaven (above) ? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings was fulfilled by Gaṅgeśvara." Here is also a reference to the construction of a temple of Lakṣmī by the same monarch (cf. V. 28 of the *Praśasti*). The relevant verse runs as follows :

Lakṣmījanmagṛhaṁ payonidhirasau
saṁbhāvitasya sthitir-
nānāsi śvaśurasya pūjyata iti
kṣīrāvdhivāsa dhruvaṁ
nirviṇṇaḥ Puruṣottamaḥ pramuditas-
taddhāma lābhādramā-
pyetad bharttṛ-gṛhaṁ varaṁ pitṛ-gṛhāt
Prāpya pramodānvitā.

(The ocean is the birth place of Lakshmī ; so thinking in his father-in-law's house Viṣṇu lodged with shame though he got full adoration. Thus ashamed the god Puruṣottama was glad to get this new house and Lakshmī too gladly preferred to live in her husband's new house.)

J.A.S.B. Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 229.

We find here for the first time, in the epigraphical records, a description of Puruṣottama, the Lord of the three worlds, regarding his universal nature or Viśvarūpa as depicted in the *Bhagavad Gītā.* Of course, we find before this in literature a description of Jagannātha as the Lord of the world. The first mention of Jagannātha as the manifestation of the Buddha is found in the work, '*Jñānasiddhi*' of Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna, who was the founder of the Vajrayāna system of Buddhism. The author begins this work after offering his obeisance to Jagannātha Buddha.

Praṇipatya Jagannāthaṁ Sarvajinavarārcitam
Sarva Buddhamayaṁ siddhivyapinaṁ Gaganopamam

Jagannātha propitiated by Indrabhūti in the beginning of his work can be identified with Jagannātha of Puri for various reasons. This is advocated by K. N. Mohapātra in the *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 7.

From the life-history of Choḍagaṅga it is revealed that he possessed as many as ninety-nine thousand elephants,[15] that he ruled the country extending from the Ganges in the north as far as the Godāvarī in the south, that he defeated the kings of Utkala and Veṅgi where he erected two pillars of victory each decorated with a garland-like necklace of the goddess Śrī, symbolising the glory of his great victory, that he conquered the country of Mandāra in Gauḍa,[16] and that he was engaged for a long time in war with the Cedis of Ratnapur.[17] Thus, he acquired a large amount of wealth which was carried, according to a popular tradition, on the back of his war elephants and was poured into a well, which was dug in the premises of the present temple of Jagannātha, is still called by the name 'Sunā kuañ' (the gold well). When the well was filled to the brim the temple work was started. According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, the *sunā kuañ* was excavated by Anaṅgabhīmadeva.[18]

R. L. Mitra quotes a verse, giving the credit of the construction of the temple to Anaṅgabhīmadeva III.[19]

Sakābde randhraśubhrāṁśurūpanakṣatranāyake
Prāsādaṁ kārayāmāsa-anaṅgabhīmena dhīmatā.

It means that in the Śaka year 1119 or A.D. 1197, the temple was constructed by the king Anaṅgabhīmadeva. Most probably it was copied from a traditional account found in the Campukāvya "*Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritam*" written by Vāsudeva Ratha of the 18th century A.D. In that kāvya, there is this verse[20] :

Aṅka kṣauṇi śaśāṅkendusammite śakavatsare
Anaṅgabhīmadevena prāsādaḥ śrīpateḥ kṛtaḥ.

This tradition was most probably interpolated into *Mādalāpāñji* ; hence the confusing record that Anaṅgabhīmadeva constructed the temple.[21]

In the face of clear evidence from epigraphical sources regarding the construction of the temple by Choḍagaṅga, it is surprising that *Mādalāpāñji* and a few other later texts transferred the credit of building the temple to Anaṅgabhīma or Aniyaṅkabhīma III of 1211 A.D.[22] In this connection, S. N. Rājaguru says that according to the Nagari copper-plate grant of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III of 1230 A.D., a temple of Jagannātha was built at Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka or the modern Cuttack by that king. Perhaps, the compiler of *Mādalāpāñji* confused the temple of Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka with the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri (also the view of D. C. Sircar), and that the story subsequently passad into popular lore.[23] We fully agree with the view of the scholars who remark that at the end of Choḍagaṅga's prolonged war with the Kālacuris and Cedis, and after his suppression of the rebellion which took place in the border area of his kingdom in or about 1135 A.D., he devoted his attention to the construction of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri.[24] This fact is mentioned for the first time in the Dīsagobā copper-plates of his grandson Rājarājadeva II (1170-1193 A.D.).

Now the question is whether Puruṣottama as a deity was known in much earlier time. It is true that in many of the grants of the early mediaeval period issued to the Brāhmaṇas in Kaliṅga, Toṣalī, Dakṣiṇa Kośala and other neighbouring states we do not find any reference to the deity. But, Puruṣottama is mentioned in a copper plate grant discovered at the village of Maihar (Satna district, M.P.) situated far from the orbit of these regions. The date of this grant has been assigned by D. C. Sircar to the middle of the 10th century A.D. on paleographical grounds. It contains the following verse :

Samudramajjanānnūnamoḍreṣu Puruṣottamaṁ
Dṛṣṭvā tavaṅtike bhūyaḥ purāgacchatyyaṁ śiśuḥ[25]

The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Bṛhaspati's mouth : "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in (the waters of) the sea after having seen Puruṣottama in the Odra country." The reference here is to the god Puruṣottama Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

The above epigraphical record shows that Puruṣottama of Oḍradeśa was so famous that it attracted many people from Madhyapradeśa. There is possibly of a much earlier reference to Puruṣottama (Jagannātha) in the Kailan copper-plate of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta, the chief of Samataṭa (S.E. Bengal). The chief who was a *Paramavaiṣṇava* mentions Bhagavān Puruṣottama, as the creator, preserver and destroyer. The record has been dated by D. C. Sircar to the second half of the seventh century A.D. But, as Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣottama is worshipped in no other part of India except Orissa, we may be sure of the identity of this Puruṣottama with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri.[25a] We are tempted to quote here some of the lines from the said Kailan copper plate grant to elucidate our point. The relevant verse runs as follows :

> *"Viditamastu vo nirupamaguṇaguṇaguhaśālini*
> *Jagadudayasthitinirodha vividha prapañcadhāmani*
> *vibudhasattama śatamakha śatruśatānavyaśāsana-*
> *vilasitāyatane Bhagavati Purusottame paramaye*
> *viniveśitāśayaśraddhayā."*

It means "with due respect and devotion to Lord Puruṣottama who being accomplished with all virtues cannot be compared with any one since none possesses all these qualities (virtues) responsible for the creation, protection and destruction of the universe and who is always engaged in subduing the enemies of Indra."

The *Bārhaspatyasūtram* which mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra among other sacred Vaiṣṇava kṣetras[25b] gives the exact distance of the same from the famous place Dvārakā (*Dvārakādi Puruṣottama śālagrāmānta saptasata yojanā*). From Dvārakā as far as Puruṣottama and the Sālagrāma is a distance of seven hundred yojanas. Pt. Bhagavad Datta holds that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A.D.[25c]

In the plates of Daṇḍi Mahādevi who lived in the begnning of the 10th century A.D. it is mentioned that she donated some lands in favour of Bhaṭṭaputra Puruṣottama of Kāśyapa Gotra.[26] She also granted the village known as Rasambhā in Koṅgadamaṇḍala. This Rasambhā has been identified with modern Rambhā of the Puri district by Pandit Vinayaka Miśra.[27] Another name of a poet called Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama is also found in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription at Bhuvaneśwara, which was inscribed in the third regnal year of Udyota-Keśari of the 11th century A.D.[28] But, the earliest inscription so far known to us in this family where the donee's name is recorded as Puruṣottama is the Neulpur plate of Subhākaradeva I,[29] who was a *Parama saugata*, but who granted lands in favour of as many as one hundied Brāhmaṇas. In the long list of the grantees mentioned in the inscription there are four persons bearing the name of Puruṣottama, three persons bearing the name of Balabhadra, and one person of the name Haladhara. Since the said copper-plate is attributed to the later part of the 8th century A.D.,[30] we have every reason to believe that Puruṣottama and Balabhadra· were popular deities of this locality, after whom a *brāhmaṇa* father named his sons as Puruṣottama or Balabhadra. It is, therefore, clear that towards the latter part of the 7th century A.D., the deities of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were popular, and as we have stated before, they were probably installed in a sacred place on the sea-shore.

To corroborate the above statement we now turn our attention to ancient Sanskrit Literature and other works. In the Sanskrit drama "*Anargharāghavan*" of Murāri, the *Prastāvanā* verse is devoted to Puruṣottama. It is stated that the drama was dedicated to the god Puruṣottama during the sacred occasion of his car festival.

According to S. K. De and S. N. Dasgupta, the drama was written some time towards the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century A.D.[31] Therefore, the epigraphical record of naming some Brāhmaṇas as Puruṣottama or Balabhadra is endorsed by the above-mentioned literary evidence. The drama refers not only to the deity Puruṣottama but also to his Car Festival.[32]

Nandyante Sūtradharaḥ :—Alamativistareṇa.
Bho bho Lavaṇoda-velā-vanāli tamālataru-
kaṇḍalasya tribhuvanamauli-maṇḍaṇa-mahānīlamaṇeḥ
Kamalā-kuca-kalaśa-keli-kastūrikā-patrāṅkurasya
Bhagavataḥ Puruṣottamasya yātrāyāṁ upasthānīya-
sabhāsadaḥ.

In another Sanskrit drama known as "*Prabodhacandrodaya*" written by Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the court-poet of the Chandālla king Kīrtivarman (1041-1070), mention is made of the *Devāyatana* of the God Puruṣottama.[33] It is no other god than Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri, and the word *devāyatana* as referred to in this drama, suggests that a temple of Puruṣottama was existing before a new temple was started by Yayāti and later on completed by Choḍagaṅga. The exact position, however, of that old temple situated on the sea-shore cannot be ascertained.

Besides these, mention of Jagannātha is also made in some Tāntric works of the 10th and 11th centuries. Thus, in the *Rudrayāmala*, a Tāntric work, we find a reference to Jagannātha. The date of this Tantra has not yet been finally fixed by scholars ; yet the date of another Tāntric work, *viz. Brahmayāmala* in which the aforesaid Tantra, *Rudrayāmala*, is mentioned, has been ascertained. This *Brahmayāmala*, the manuscript of which has been preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal, was copied out in 1052 A.D.[34] So the Tāntric work, *Rudrayāmala*, must have been written some years before 1052 A.D. and as such it may tentatively be assigned to a period from 950 to 1000 A.D. This date for *Rudrayāmala* is corroborated from the fact that a portion of it was commented upon by Mahāmaheśvarācārya Abhinava Gupta, who lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.[35] The glory of Jagannātha is described at two places in this famous tāntric work.

The "*Tantrayāmala*" and the "*Kālikā Purāṇa*" also describe the Dārurūpī Jagannātha as the presiding deity of the Puruṣottama Kṣetra in Utkala. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* goes as far as to say that Jagannātha is the supreme deity of Uḍra Deśa.[36]

(a) *Bhārate cotkaladeśe bhūsvarge Puruṣottamaḥ*
Dārurūpī Jagannāthaḥ bhaktānāmabhayapradaḥ.

(*The Tantrayāmala*)

(b) *Jagannāthaṁ Odreśaṁ ca prapūjayet.*

(*Kālikā Purāṇa*)

The partially published Pujāripali Inscription of one Gopāla Deva of the Nāga family gives a list of holy places; in this list we find the name of Puruṣottama.[37]

This inscription has been attributed to the eleventh century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. In the Boramdeo temple there is another inscription of the reign of Gopāla Deva bearing a date in the Kālacuri era 840 A.D. (1088). This is perhaps one of the earlier references to Puruṣottama Kṣetra in the epigraphical records so far discovered.[38]

But, as we have already said, it is in the Kailan copper-plate grant of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta that we get the earliest reference to Puruṣottama. The Kalidindi grant also refers to Śrīdhāma as well as Puruṣottama (1031 A.D.).

In Satānanda's *Bhāsvati* we find that the author, son of Śaṅkara and Sarasvatī, was a resident of Puri and finished this work in Kaliyuga year 4200 or 1100 A.D. at this sacred place of Puruṣottama.[39]

The next references to Puruṣottama Kṣetra are to be found in the Nagpur stone inscription of the rulers of Malvā of the Vikrama year 1161 or 1104 A.D.[40]

Kṛtya Kalpataru, a text on Dharmaśāstra of 1110 A.D., quoting from *Vāmana Purāṇa*, mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra[41] along with Viraja. The text, however, does not include Puruṣottama in the list of *tīrthas*.

While discussing the Govindapur Stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara, Kielhorn says that Manoratha, the father of Gaṅgādhara, came on a pilgrimage to Puruṣottama in *Circa* 1120 A.D.[42] All these literary and historical evidences show that the Dhāma or Śrīkṣetra with the god Puruṣottama was well-known in Pre-Gaṅga period and even much earlier.[43]

After arriving at the conclusion that the deities Puruṣottama and Balabhadra were worshipped some time before the 8th century A.D., we have little doubt that they were regarded as the *Rāṣṭradevatās* of Koṅgada and Toṣalī which were, by that time, occupied by the Bhaumas, who, towards the latter part of their rule, embraced Vaiṣṇavism. At the same time, the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism was quite popular in this tract because a large number of Buddhist images have been discovered here. Moreover, the existence of two "64 Yoginī-Pīṭhas" one at Hirāpur near Bhuvaneśwara and the other at Rānīpura, Jharial (Photos 3 and 4) in Bolangir district gives a clear evidence of the prevalence of the Tāntric form of religion in this part of Orissa.[44] The deities in the Vārāhi temple at Caurāsī near Kākatpur (Puri district), and the Vaitāla Deula at Bhuvaneśwara, apart from the old Virajā temple at Jājpur in Cuttack district, corroborate this fact.[45] The Vajrayānists used to worship different gods and goddesses some of which were from the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. So, we may infer that it was the time when an attempt was made towards affecting the assimilation of Brāhmiṇism and Buddhism. The Bhaumakaras were mainly responsible for the introduction of this idea probably to maintain peace and tranquillity in their kingdom. They were perturbed by the influence of Śaivism and the religious campaign started by Śaṅkarācārya. Towards the end of the reigning period of Śubhākara II, who was a *Paramasaugata*, many Brāhmaṇas assembled in his court to whom he granted lands liberally.

About this time, a new title, *Paramavaiṣṇava* was introduced in the Bhaumakara dynasty and Śubhākara's mother, Tribhuvana Mahādevī, used that title.[46] It is curious to note, in this connection, that a stone sculpture of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. depicts the scene of three images placed on a bullock cart being dragged by people.[47] The said sculpture is now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneśwara (Plate 5). These three images on the bullock cart may be taken to be three gods, having been worshipped by the Bhaumas who were the sovereign rulers of that period, and who had embraced Buddhism. It is probable that while the spiritual preceptors of the Bhaumas interpreted these *rāṣṭra-devatās*, Puruṣottama and Balabhadra together with the goddess Stambheśvarī, as the gods and goddesses derived from the Buddhistic pantheon, the Brāhmaṇas in their part, took these deities as the *Trimūrti* in accordance with the descriptions of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā. Their association with the divine *cakra* is well represented in a passage found in the copper-plate grant of Neṭṭabhañjadeva. In that inscription we come across the following passage :

"*Puruṣottamacakrapratiṣṭhāyām*"

K. C. Panigrahi, who edited this inscription, suggested that the deity might have been installed in the kingdom of the Bhañjas and worshipped as their own family deity. It is also supported from the inscription of Śatrubhañja of the Bhauma era 198 (934 A.D.)[48], where he (Śatrubhañja) is described as granting lands on the occasion of a Vaiṣṇava ceremony, the Utthāna Dvādasī, (Viṣṇu's rising from sleep). It is a clear indication that the Bhañjas embraced Vaiṣṇavism of the Śrī Sampradāya (sect) which was popular in South India and Kaliṅga.[49] From all these accounts we conclude that Vaiṣṇavism, which developed through the mingling of the Buddhist Tāntric Cult, and the Śrī sect, was associaed with the symbolised images of Puruṣottma, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.

We shall now turn our attention to the time of Choḍagaṅga who built the temple at Puri some time after 1112 A.D. This was immediately after the amalgamation of the kingdom of the Somavaṁśī kings with Kaliṅga. For the first time he used the title of *Paramavaiṣṇava* in 1118 A.D. The epithet *Paramamāheśvara*, as ascribed to him, was used by his ancestors ever since they established their kingdom in Kaliṅga after the Māṭharas. It proves that the Gaṅgas were originally believers in Śaivism till the time of Choḍagaṅga, who embraced Vaiṣṇavism as well as Śaivism. His capital was at Mukhaliṅgam (Kaliṅganagara) where he ruled upto 1111 or 1112 A.D. Afterwards he shifted his capital to a place near the present Cuttack and ruled from there till 1147 A.D.[50] It was during this period that Vaiṣṇavism took a new shape in Kaliṅga.

In the south, at about this time, the philosophy of Viśiṣṭā-dvaitavāda was being propagated by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers like Rāmānuja and others. Choḍagaṅga having close connections with Cholas and Chālukyas of the south, naturally felt inclined to the South Indian Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, and his ministers and advisers also influenced him in this direction.[51] He was thus a follower of Śaivism before his conquest of Utkala, and towards the end of his reign he adopted Vaiṣṇavism. We may refer, in this connection, to a stone inscription of the Garteśvara temple in the village of Alagum of the Puri district. It records that a brāhmiṇ named Kāmīṇḍi was, attached as *Disāṁpate* to some religious institution and he used both the titles of *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramavaiṣṇava* like Choḍagaṅga and made some endowments in favour of the Lord Garteśvara in 1136 A.D. He belonged to the Chola country and was an inhabitant of a village named Kāḍaṁbara.[52] That was the time when Rāmānuja's philosophy threw a new light on the religious history of Vaiṣṇavism.[53] During that period of resurrection, a king like Choḍagaṅga did not fail to devote his wealth and time to the popularisation of the teachings of these philosophers of South India. This attempt of propagating the Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa resulted in the worship of the Vaiṣṇavite deities in the Buddhist Tāntric way with an admixture of the Brāhmaṇical ritualism. The details regarding the fundamentals of these different systems of Vaiṣṇavism will be discussed in the chapter on theology.

Choḍagaṅga, as a monarch and a patron of religion, saved Utkal from heterogenous and conflicting theories relating to the worship of this god, Puruṣottama, who happened to be an object of contest between the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas. He fully realised that for his country a fresh danger became imminent in the form of a Muslim invasion from the north-eastern region.[54] He thus brought about some harmony between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas in the greater interest of the country. Perhaps his stern administration with equal emphasis on religion and politics made Orissa such a strong country that it could not be occupied by the Muslims for more than three hundred years. He was regarded not only as a popular king among the Hindus, but also as a mighty ruler by the Buddhist kings of Ceylon.[55] The *Mahāvaṁśa* gives us a description of his visit to Ceylon and also some matrimonial alliance between the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and the royal family of Kaliṅga[56] His son, Kāmārṇava, is said to have visited Ceylon. The friendship of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa with the Buddhist kings of Ceylon was possible because of some religious understanding between the Buddhists and the Hindus.[57]

Choḍagaṅga's son Kāmārṇava, was anointed as *Yuvarāja* during the lifetime of his father in Śaka 1064 at the temple of Sarvalokaikanātha, i.e. Jagannātha. The relevant verse of the Gaṅga Inscription runs as follows :

Vedartuvyomacandrapramitaśakasamāḥ prāptakāle dineśe
Cāpastenyagrhaughe balavatiripuṣu prakkṣayaṃ prāptavatsu
Asmin mūrddhābhiṣikte nṛpavaratanaye sarvalokaikanāthe
Śrimat Kāmārṇavesau jagatyabhavadidaṃ tattadānandapūrṇaṃ.

If this *Sarvalokaikanātha* is the same as Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri, we can then infer that in the year 1142 A.D. the deities were installed in the temple which was constructed by Kāmārṇava's father, Choḍagaṅga.[58] Thus, we may conclude that the present temple of Jagannātha at Puri which might have been started by Yayāti II in the middle of the 10th century A.D., remained incomplete or partially completed upto about 1113 A.D. when Choḍagaṅga took up the work and completed it some time before 1142 A.D., so that his son could be anointed as *Yuvarāja* in that sacred place.

After the completion of the temple, Puri attained religious importance throughout India. A king of Puṇḍravardhana (Bengal) named Bhojavarmadeva records in one of his grants, the greatness of the divine Lord Puruṣottama as follows :

Itīyaṃ guṇagāthābhistuṣṭo vaḥ Puruṣottamaḥ
Majjayanniva vag Brahma-māyā-nanda-mahodadhau.

R. C. Majumdar gives the following translation of the verse[59] :

"By such eulogistic verses Puruṣottama was extolled by him, making him plunge into the great ocean, namely that of bliss, emanating from Brāhmaṇ who is the same as speech." By completing the construction of the present temple of Jagannātha, Choḍagaṅga served two purposes—religious and political. He won the heart of the people of Kaliṅga by constructing the temple for their Rāṣṭradevatās, the work which remained neglected by the previous rulers. He also invited religious preceptors and reformers from the South, through whom he conducted a great reorientation for the religious activities of this locality.[60] It is quite probable that during this time the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists of north-eastern India, troubled by the Muslim invaders, preferred to take shelter in this land. We may also assume that Orissa, which was not so much over-run by the Muslims like Gauḍa and Rāḍha, became the abode of shelter for the unfortunate refugees from these places. In the eyes of the Hindus and the Buddhists of that period, Puri attained therefore the status of Jerusalem in Eastern India. So, innumerable literary works in praise of Puruṣottama Dhāma and Jagannātha were composed, and Puri came to be considered in literature as one of the four important *Dhāmas* (Holy places) of India located in its four extreme corners. The epithet *nātha* signifies Jagannātha at Puri (East India), Rāmanātha in the extreme south of Indian Peninsula, Dvārkānātha in Gujarāt and Badrīnātha on the Himālayās. In course of time Puri assumed greater importance than the other *Dhāmas* because it came to be regarded as the culminating resort of all pilgrims.

Towards the end of the 12th century A.D., the political condition of northern and eastern India was suddenly changed due to Muhammedan invasions. At first the Muhammedans entered into India as raiders and towards the beginning of the 13th century they appeared as conquerors. One Iktiaruddin Baktiyar Khilzi penetrated into the heart of Gauḍa and established his supremacy there. That was the period when the Brāhmaṇical religion had to face a great crisis and confusion prevailing not only in Gauḍa and Magadha but also in some regions beyond the Vindhya range of mountains, as hinted in the Chāṭeśvara inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III.[61] Many refugees, especially the Hindus, took shelter under the protection of the Gajapati kings of Orissa. Choḍagaṅga's grandson, Rāja-rāja III, was one of the kings of the Imperial Gaṅgas who strongly resisted the first Muhammedan invasion from Bengal. From the Muhammedan historians we learn that the Seron brothers once attempted to raid the northern parts of Orissa ; but this attempt was frustrated by Rāja-rāja III. It is further known from inscriptional evidence that Rāja-rāja engaged himself to suppress the Chedis who were troubling the imperial Gaṅgas since the time of Choḍagaṅga. He also successfully annihilated the armies of the Muhammedans with the help of his able and strong commanders, viz. Viṣṇu and Moṅkaṇa Chamwnātha.[62]

After Rāja-rāja III, the Muhammedan aggression, however, did not cease. This time the Muhammedans had a very strong army from Gauḍa to fight against the king of Utkal,[63] but Aniaṅkabhīma III, who was a shrewd and strong monarch, did not allow them even to begin their march towards Utkal from the fort of Lakṣmaṇāvatī, while his son Narasiṁha[64] I took an aggressive policy to capture that fort of Laksmaṇāvatī through his own army headed by his brother-in-law, Paramardideva. This time the Muhammedans sustained such a defeat that their court-historians could not but admit this fact though in a somewhat mild tone.[65] Thereafter, a lull fell in for some time which enabled the Gaṅga Prince Anaṅgabhīmadeva III to devote his attention for the reorganisation of the temple of Jagannātha. Probably, this is the reason why in *Mādalāpāñji*[66] he is regarded as the builder of the temple of Jagannātha. From his Nagari copper-plate inscription[67] we learn that he built a temple of Jagannātha in the city of Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka. After this he might have devoted his time to reorganising the temple administration at Puri, the fact which has been elaborately described in the *Mādalāpāñji*.

So far as our knowledge goes, it was this king who regarded Puruṣottama as the real Emperor, himself being his representative.[68] Therefore, in some of his inscriptions in the Pātāleśvara temple at Puri, the *Srāhi* year of Puruṣottama is given instead of his own. Being misled by this, some scholars concluded that Puruṣottama was the second name of Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva. His successors continued the same practice of using the *Srāhi* year of Puruṣottama. So, it is quite clear that the king Aniyaṅkabhīma III regarded the deity Puruṣottama as the supreme lord and protector of his kingdoms, Kaliṅga and Utkal. Our theory about Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as the *Rāṣṭradevatā* is well established by this practice of some of the rulers of Utkal. Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva reigned from 1211/1212 A.D. to 1238/39 A.D. During this period a Muslim king named Ghiyāsuddin Iwaz invaded Jājnagar. According to the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, Ghiyāsuddin used to collect some tribute from the kings of Jājnagar, Bengal, Kāmarūp and Trihut.[69] But, from epigraphical sources we come to know that the Gaṅga kings took some aggressive action against the Muslim (Yavana) kings of Bengal. Thus, the above statement, as given in the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, is not reliable because though Ghiyāsuddin invaded Orissa twice, *i.e.* in 1211 and 1224 A.D., Rāja-rāja III and his son, Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, claimed that they defeated the kings of Lakṣmaṇāvatī several times.[70]

Like Choḍagaṅga, he also used the title of *Paramavaiṣṇava* and *Paramamāheśvara*. Further, he used the title, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, as well as three other titles, *viz. Durgāputra*, *Śrī Puruṣottamaputra* and *Rudraputra*. The last three titles supply some clue to our theory regarding the installation of the three deities at different places in the early medieval age in Orissa. Unless we hold that these three presiding deities of Puri were regarded as the family gods and goddesses, viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā (Śakti), it is not possible to explain the expression made in a stone inscription of Drāksārām in the east Godāvarī district where the above new titles of Anaṅgabhīma III have been used (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1329, p. 467). The above mentioned inscription was made in the 8th *Srāhi* or the *Aṅka* year of Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva III and its date is equivalent to 1229 A.D.[71]

He (Anaṅgabhīma III) being a devout worshipper of Puruṣottama, Durgā and Balabhadra probably used to offer his *pūjā* before these deities for which he constructed another temple in his capital town at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Abhinava Vārāṇasī. This town is identified with the modern Cuttack and is situated at a distance of about 57 miles from Puri. The worship of Puruṣottama along with Balabhadra and Subhadrā by the king and his successors gave rise to a separate cult afterwards.[72] It is curious to note that Bhadrāmbikā was the family goddess of the Somavaṁśi kings in the time of Yayāti II who mentioned the name of the goddess as Pañchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā in one of his C.P. grants. (Vide *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV, p. 391, by S. N. Rājaguru).

So far as the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa are concerned, Aniyaṅkabhīma III intensified the worship of Jagannātha in Orissa more than the previous kings. We, however, learn from the epigraphical records of some Bhañja kings that Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was accepted by them. Puruṣottama including his main weapon *cakra* or *cakranārāyaṇa* was also adopted from about this time, which is evident from the Orissa Museum Plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva. We will discuss this aspect in the chapter on theology. It will suffice here to suggest that the cult of Puruṣottama was not limited to the coastal districts of Orissa, but spread over a vast area.

According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, Anaṅgabhīmadeva established the temple-administration in a very systematic way. He prescribed for the first time, 36 types of duties for the *sevakas* known as the *chatisāniyoga*.[73] This system of *niyogas* was perhaps in vogue in the Royal residents of Orissa.

The Paṇḍā-system which was created in his time is almost parallel to the Missionary organisation of the 19th century Christians. The main function of the *paṇḍās* was not only to preach religion among the people, but also to render diplomatic services for the state as well as for the king. Besides, the financial position of the temple improved through this organisation. The *paṇḍās* and their servants performed a double role. They assisted the king by secretly gathering informations about the movement of the enemies, while they spared no pains to attract pilgrims to visit Śrīkṣetra. The *paṇḍās* also studied the diverse languages spoken by the pilgrims coming from all over the country as well as the diversity of their culture and developed the character and personality for working as a co-ordinating link to the varying multitude. Thus, they became an important agency for religious unification of the country and through their activities Puri attained a Pan-Indian status.

The credit for this wonderful organisation goes to Anaṅgabhīmadeva III. This king is popularly known as Anaṅgabhīmadeva III ; but, in inscriptions he is styled as Aniyaṅkabhīma (III). He might have also completed some structures attached to the main shrine which were left incomplete during the time of Choḍagaṅga. If, in this connection, we give any credence to the *Mādalāpāñji* for its statement that in the 15th regnal year of the king Aniyaṅkabhīma III, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguṇa, Thursday, was the precise date of consecration of the temple and the installation of the deities in it, then we have to suggest that he might also have made some additional improvements in the main temple, namely, the Jagamohana as well as some adjoining parts. The date which is given above corresponds to the 1st March, Thursday 1235 A.D. According to Swāmī Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephimeris* (Vol. IV, p. 72), this consecration ceremony took place at about the mid-day when the 10th *tithi* ended and the 11th *tithi* or Ekādaśī commenced. According to the above work, the 10th *tithi* ended at about 11-30 A.M. on that day.[74] So, the statement as found in the *Mādalāpāñji* cannot be rejected so far as the date of the construction of the additional part of the temple is concerned. He also granted some villages in favour of the deity and the Brāhmaṇas who settled in the districts of Puri and Cuttack.

Nowhere in the main temple of Puruṣottama we find the trace of any inscription relating to charities by the Imperial Gaṅgas, as this would have been contrary to the Hindu convention of that time. Thus the Imperial Gaṅgas did not leave any trace of their *Dharmakīrti* (sacred deeds) in temples built by them. But in the case of other temples which were not built by them, the above restriction was not followed. Therefore, in the temple of Kṛttivāsa or Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśwara we get inscriptions bearing the names of Choḍagaṅga and some of his successors. Similarly, there are records of the time of Choḍagaṅga and Aniyaṅkabhīma III inscribed on the temples of Nṛsiṁha and Pātāleśvara respectively, which are within the precincts of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. In the Narasiṁha temple, the inscription on its gate discloses that in the 58th *aṅka* year or *Śrāhi* of Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1132), some *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* or 'perpetual lamps' were endowed in the Puruṣottama-Dhāma in favour of the deity by the grant of a village called Māladā. This village (Māladā) may be identified with the modern Mālud, a small island in the Chilkā lake.[75]

Anaṅgabhīma was not only an accomplished ruler but also a great administrator and a staunch follower of Vaiṣṇavism. He anticipated trouble from the Muhammedan conquerors of Bengal, while he found that on the west and the south the kingdom was surrounded by Hindu kings, namely, the Chālukyas and the Chedis. So, he made a proclamation declaring that the kingdoms of Kaliṅga and Utkal, which extended from the Hooghly in the east upto the Godāvarī in the south, were donated to and left under the protection of the Supreme Lord of the universe, Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Thereafter, he used the *Śrāhi* in the name of Puruṣottama instead of using his own. He acted as the representative or deputy of the Divine Lord in the affairs of running the day-to-day administration of the kingdom. This pious declaration created a tremendous impact on the minds of many Hindu kings, previously hostile to the Gaṅgas. A popular belief of the Hindu kings was that the god's kingdoms, Kaliṅga and Utkal, were invincible and divinely protected. This religious belief acted as a psychological bulwark for the protection of the country from the southern and western quarters, while the eastern side, adjoining the Muslim kingdom of Gauḍa, remained open to aggression. This side was well defended by the concentration of the entire royal force of Utkal and Kaliṅga along with the border.

From epigraphical sources we know that Anaṅgabhīmadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chedis of Tumhāṇa through one of his commandants called Viṣṇu. The *Praśasti* writer describes Viṣṇu, the commandant, as none but Lord Viṣṇu himself who threatened the Chedi king (Śiśupāla) by appearing on all his sides. Here the commandant, Viṣṇu, became a terror to the Chedi king of Tumhāṇa at war.[76] The relevant verse runs as follows :

Vindhyādreradhisīmabhīmataṭinīkujantaṭe'ṁbhonidheḥ
Viṣṇur viṣṇurasāvitibhramavaśāccedediśaḥ pasyataḥ
Yogābhyāsapariśrameṇa na tathā vaikhānasānāmidaṃ
Viśvaṃ viṣṇumayaṃ yathāpariṇataṃ Tuhmāṇapṛthvīpateḥ.

This suggests that the Gajapati kings of Orissa and their *praśasti* writers propagated the idea that the Lord Viṣṇu used to take an active part even in the battlefield whenever any danger threatened the country. This impression, however, made the Hindu world believe that the country of Utkal was under the direct control of the divine Lord Viṣṇu, *alias* Puruṣottama, and as such, the country should not be invaded but respected and protected from aggression. Apparently it also acted as a force for the political integration of the country.

Towards the close of the 13th century A.D., in the time of Narasiṁha II (1278-1309 A.D.), a great poet and philosopher named Narahari Tīrtha came to Kaliṅga and lived at Śrīkūrma Kṣetra which was a centre of Vaiṣṇavism in Kaliṅga. He lived there as the preceptor of the king of Utkal. According to the tradition, he had to run the administration of Kaliṅga on behalf of the minor king of Orissa (Narasiṁhadeva) who subsequently became his disciple. In one of the inscriptions of Śrikūrmam of the Śaka year 1215 (A.D. 1293), Narahari Tīrtha's name is recorded.[77] He propagated the Mādhva system of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa as directed by his guru Ānandatīrtha. Bhandarkar says that Narahari Tīrtha was sent to Jagannātha to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā.[78] From the above mentioned inscription of Śrīkūrmam, we learn that he constructed a temple there and installed the image of Yogānanda Narasiṁha in the year 1281 A.D. The temple of Śrīkūrmam was considered as not only a seat of Vaiṣṇavism, but also as the *Gurupīṭha* (sacred place of *Gurus*) of the Gaṅga kings of Utkal. The Arcakas (worshippers) of this temple are the followers of the Rāmānuja School of Vaiṣṇavism.[79]

Anaṅgabhīma III's daughter, Candrikā, who married Paramārdi Deva of the Haihaya dynasty, constructed the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśwara (Plate 6) in commemoration of her hero-husband who lost his life in a war against the Muslim kings of Gauḍa.[80] In that temple she installed the images of Haḷī, Kṛṣṇa and another Goddess Ekānaṁśā (Plate 7 and 8), whose names are found in the inscriptions of Ananta Vāsudeva temple.[81] Two images of Ananta and Vāsudeva (Plate 9) are found fixed on the inner wall of the Vindusāgar tank at Bhuvaneśwara. The images are of the earlier period and this shows the popularity of these two deities in Orissa. After Anaṅgabhīma III, the history of Orissa was glorified by his successors, Narasiṁha I and Bhānu I, who also devoted their wealth and energy towards the construction of temples. The former built the temple of Koṇārka or the Sun-god.

Narasiṁhadeva I, ascended the throne in 1238 A.D. He not only protected the country successfully from the Muslim aggression, but also followed aggressive policy against the Muhammedans by penetrating into the heart of Gauḍa. In the copper-plate inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas we get the following verse extolling his glory.[82]

Rāḍhāvarendrayavanī-nayanāñjanaśru-
Pūreṇa dūravinvieśitakālimaśrīḥ
Tadvipralambha karuṇādbhutanistaraṅgā
Gaṅgāpi nūnam yamunā yamunādhunābhūt.

It means that the white river Gaṅgā was blackened by the wash of the collyrium from the eyes of the yavanīs or the wives of the yavanas of Rāḍha and Varendra when their husbands were killed in the war-field by the king Narasiṁha I.[83]

[From the Muslim history, namely, the *Tabākat-i-Nasiri*, it is found that in the time of Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, a ruler of Bengal, the Rāi of Jajnagar (Orissa) attacked Lakṣṇāvati or the capital of Bengal in H. 642 (A.D. 1245).[84]] It was this king Narasiṁhadeva I who constructed the Sun-temple at Koṇārka as previously stated by us. He preserved the icons of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā in his temple as Durgā, Śiva and Jagannātha (Plate 10). The worship of Durgā with Mādhava is a unique feature in Orissan Vaiṣṇavism (Plate 9). During this period the necessity of assimilation of three cults, Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava was felt intensely.

The next battle with the Muhammedans took place in the time of Bhānudeva II (1308-1328 A.D.),[85] when Ghiyāsuddin sent his son Ulugh Khān to attack Telingānā in 1321 A.D.[86] While returning from the south he attacked

Jājnagar in 1323 A.D., and took away forty elephants from there.[87]* After him, his grand-son, Bhānu III, is said to have defeated a mighty king like Firoze Tughlak of Delhi through his general Choḍa II.[88] In the *Pañcadhārlā inscription*, we get the verse regarding Orissa's help to the Muslim king of Pāṇḍua of Bengal when he was attacked by Firoze, the king of Delhi.[89] It is interesting to note here that the Paṇḍās of the Jagannātha temple were the source of strength to the Gajapati kings of Orissa in their struggle with the Muslim kings of Bengal. They played an important part in this respect owing to their well-organised espionage activities, and they supplied useful information to their chiefs about the movement of the troops of Firoze and others. They went to various parts of India ostensibly as messengers of Jagannātha, and at the same time spied on the activities of the enemies. This worked well for a time, but treachery and rivalry among the Hindus destroyed their enterprise. As a result, when Firoze invaded for the second time, he became successful. One Bāli Pātra of Jājnagar made himself over to the enemy. This has been described in detail in Pañcadhārlā inscription.[90]

The stable position and the sovereignty of Orissa were greatly affected by the treacherous activities of some officers under Bhānu III. The Muslims, at last, got an opportunity to enter into the very heart of Orissa to destroy Hindu Gods and their temples. Several leaves in the *Mādalāpāñji*[91] contain nothing but the stories of raids by Yāvanas on the temple of Jagannātha. On these occasions the deities were removed to secure places. The struggle between the Hindus and the Muhammedans continued at least upto the time of the Mahrattās, who established their rule in Orissa in the 18th century A.D. This country had witnessed many ups and downs of history, but the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Baḷabhadra and the lofty temple withstood all the catastrophes.

The last king of the Gajapati dynasty is Nisaṅka Bhānu IV, who, according to the *Candrakalā Nāṭikā* of Kavirāja Viśvanātha, the well-known author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, defeated the king of Gauḍa in or about the 14th century A.D.[92] The verse of the above drama is quoted below :

Ācchanne gharmadhāmni prakharahayakhura-
kṣuṇṇapṛthvīrajobhir-
Kṣipte nakṣatralakṣe nabhasi karikarodbhūta
Gaṅgā-payobhir-
Jyotsnābhiḥ kīrtticandre dhavalayati
jagajjaitrayātrāvakāśe
Gauḍa-kṣmāpāla-lakṣmīr-vyaracayadacirā-deva
yasyābhisāraṃ.

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* It is important to note that during Bhanudeva II's reign the name, "Jagannath" was used for the first time in the royal inscriptions. But previously the deity was always referred to as "Purusottama" or "Purusottam-Jagannath" during the early Ganga period. A process of evolution thus emerges from this gradual change-over.

The meaning of the verse runs thus : The military expedition was organised without delay by Lakṣmī of the king Bhānu IV against the king of Gauḍa. On this occasion of his conquest the solar region (or the Sun) was concealed by the particles of dust which were stirred by the, hooves of the swiftly moving steeds ; the sky was cast with myriads of stars as it were and by the jets of water of the Ganges thrown upon by the trunks of the elephants ; and, the world was brightened up by the moonlight like fame of the king. Most probably he defeated the king Jālāluddin, who, originally a Hindu, embraced Islam and caused harassment to his Hindu subjects.[93]

After Bhānu IV, the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa became extinct and Kapileśvara of the Sūrya Vaṁśī dynasty ascended the throne. He was a powerful monarch who protected the Brāhmanical religion in all possible ways. He claims to have defeated the contemporary Muslim king of Delhi while protecting the interests of the South Indian Hindus who were ruthlessly persecuted and harassed by the Bāhāmani Sultans. In the Gopināthpur temple inscriptions of Kapileśvara, we get this description of his achievements. He is said to have defeated the kings of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gauḍa etc. and crushed the pride of the king of Delhi. This is described as follows[94] :

Karnāṭojjhāsa-siṁhakalavara-vijayī
Mālavadhvaṁsaśilaḥ
Jaṅghālo Gauḍamarddī bhramaravaranṛpodhvas-
tadillīndragarvaḥ

Kapileśvara's inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha show that the king treated the deity as the Supreme Lord of Orissa and himself as his representative. He used to bring to the notice of his Lord important facts relating to the administration of the kingdom.[95] In his 35th regnal year he prayed to Lord Jagannātha that he might be permitted to punish some of his *Sāmantas* or subordinate chiefs for their rebellious activities. This is recorded in an inscription on the left side of the door-frame of the temple-gate. From this we conclude that he regarded the Lord Jagannātha as the supreme ruler of the country. In another inscription he says, "Oh Lord Jagannātha ! Thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brāhmaṇas as much as I can. He, on whom thou pleasest to bestow this land, is thine."[96] It shows that even for granting charities he used to take permission from God Jagannātha. Not only in the affairs of administration, but also in political matters the king Kapileśvara looked upto Lord Jagannātha for all kinds of inspirations. In another inscription of the same place written in Oriya we notice the following proclamation which he made before the God :

"*Ājñā voli hoilā āmara Oḍiśā rāj̤ye yete rājā mūla,*
savuheñ rājāṅku hite prati ye āpaṇa sadācāre thive,
Anartha āge na rahive. Rājāṅka ānahiṭe vratiye.
Rājā vāhārakari tāhāra sarvaśva hari[97]"

It means that all the kings living in the kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign ; should be virtuous by avoiding the evil path. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their properties will be confiscated. This type of proclamation through inscription before a deity in a temple is quite unique in the history of India.

He was not only a powerful king but also a great patron of literature and religion. A drama, *Parasurāma Vijaya*, was composed in his name. Pandit K. N. Mohāpātra, attributes the date of composition of this drama to 1458 A.D.[98] Further, Pandit Mohāpātra states that the victory over the Bahamani forces at Devarkonda in 1458 A.D., is a unique achievement for Kapilendradeva, which made him the undisputed master of the whole of Ṭelingana. This drama was written in commemoration of his great victory over the Musliṃ forces of the Deccan. Its five invocatory verses are dedicated to four gods and one goddess ; namely --1. Viṣṇu, 2. Purusottama, 3. Rukmiṇī, 4. Śrīkṛṣṇa and 5. Śiva. It proves that he was not only a Vaiṣṇava but also an admirer of Śiva. The fourth verse of invocation also leads us to conclude that the Rādhā cult was not in his time popular in Orissa. We are tempted here to show how the powerful king, Kapileśvara is compared in this drama with the great epic hero, Paraśurāma, who wiped out the turbulent kṣatriyas from the world. In about 1458 A.D., he rose to the zenith of his power and prosperity. In the stone inscription of Gopinathpur of the time of Kapilendradeva, the deities of the Jagannātha temple of that village are highly spoken of. The relevant verse runs as follows :[99]

Rāmaṁ Śrīpuruṣottamaṁ Bhagavatīmasmin Subhadrāṁ tathā
Ratnālaṁkṛtirājirādhitatanuṁ bhaktyāyamasthāpayat
Bhaktyeṣāṁ tritayaṁ navaṁ trijagati cintāmaṇīnāṁ trayaṁ
Prāsāde ca samudgake vinihitaṃ kiṃ madhyame piṣṭape.

Here the deities are described as Cintāmaṇi, the wish-giving jewels. It signifies as if the temple is a casket in which the deities, as jewels are preserved.

From the above mentioned inscription we further know that even in the 15th century A.D., the goddess Subhadrā was treated as Bhagavatī Durgā. These deities were installed by the king in a temple constructed by one Gopinātha Mohāpātra, a minister of Kapileśvardeva, who fought successfully on behalf of his king against Gauḍa and other countries. In commemoration of his victory over Gauḍa he constructed a temple in his village which was named after him and which (village) is in the district of Cuttack. He also constructed another temple called Guṇḍichābāḍi in the same village. At present these structures have disappeared and no trace of the same is left. Further in the Gopināthpur inscription, occurs the following verse :

"*Niḥśaṅkaḥ paṅkamagnākhiladharaṇitaloddhārabhūdārasiṃghaḥ*
Svacchandaṁ mlecchavṛndaṁ pratijagatikalerādyabhāge'pi kalki
Bhāsvadvaṁśāvataṁsastrijagadadhipateḥ Nīlaśailādhināthaḥ
Syādeśyādoḍhradeśe samajani Kapilendrābhidhāno narendraḥ."

The meaning of the verse is given as follows :

When the world was sinking down under mud and when a civilisation was completely vanishing through the atrocities of the *mlechhas*, the king Kapilendra-deva appeared on the scene and saved the world. He saved his country Uḍra, and acted like the Kalki and the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu.[100]

He is the first known king who recorded some gifts to the Lord Jagannātha and had some stone inscriptions on the door-frame of the '*garbhagṛha*' in the temple. Kapilendra was thus privileged to record his activities in the shape of inscriptions in the temple, though the Gaṅga kings did not avail of any such privilege. In these Jagannātha-temple-inscriptions, Kapilendradeva used the title *Navakoṭi-Karnāṭa-Kulavargeśvara* for his family. This title assumed by the Sūryavaṁśi Gajapatis, as shown by R. Subramanyam, appears for the first time, in the Veligalani plates of Kapilendra, dated Samvat 1380 (A.D. 1458).[101] According to the Śrīsaila Inscription (Telgu-Oriya) *E.I.*, XXXVI, Part II, Page 75, Kapilesvara conquered Siṁhala along with other places.

According to *Mādalāpāñji*, Kapileśvaradeva constructed the compound wall of the outer premises of the temple in his 15th regnal year. It also says that the king requested the divine Lord Jagannātha to guide him in the selection of his successor, whereupon the Lord advised him in a dream to consecrate his son Puruṣottama, born of his other queen as the *Yuvarāja* (heir-apparent). This enraged the sons born of the Pāṭrāṇī (chief queen) of the king. The story goes that they threw spears from a certain distance aiming at Puruṣottama, but their aim failed. It proved that the Lord Puruṣottama protected the *yuvarāja* Puruṣottama.[102] Thereafter, the eighteen sons of the king left the capital and went to the south in search of kingdoms. Whatever truth there might be in this tradition, the general belief was probably that whenever a king had any difficulty in the affairs of administration or in any other matter, he used to pray for the mercy of the great Lord Jagannātha for its solution. According to the *Pāñji*, the Lord Jagannātha used to give, in every case, his verdict in dreams to those kings who sought for his judgement.[103] This belief satisfied the public and the chieftains (*Khaṇḍapālas* or the *Sāmantas*) and they had to accept this as final order of the supreme Lord Jagannātha. Thus, a complete harmony and tranquillity prevailed in the country through the people's belief in the Lord Jagannātha.

After Kapileśvara, Puruṣottamadeva ascended the throne. He was a great devotee of the Lord Jagannātha. It was believed that he was born in the royal family out of His mercy and was named after the Lord. People regarded him as the sole representative of the Lord Puruṣottama for which he was described as equal to the Lord in the following manner :

Svayaṁ Puruṣottamopi Puruṣottamatanayaḥ
Svayaṁ Puruṣottamatanayopi Puruṣottamajanakaḥ
Svayaṁ Puruṣottomajanakopi Puruṣottama Sevakaḥ

These lines describe that the name Puruṣottama was used by several kings. This name was favoured by many kings because of their love and respect for the Lord.[104]

Puruṣottamadeva is known as *Durgāvaraputra*. This shows that he was a follower of *Pañca devatā*. He came to the throne in A.D. 1467, and lavishly endowed charities in the shape of jewellery and land for the daily worship of the Lord Jagannātha. This is known to us from his inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha.[105] In one of those inscriptions he (Puruṣottama) says, "I advise the kings of Orissa that as long as this world survives, you, the kings as well as others are to make gifts to the Brāhmanas with all respect and devotion. Brāhmanas will perform the *yajñas* and will not deceive anyone. Whoever will violate this advice, will become a rebel against Jagannātha. He is to be considered a great sinner. A great sin is equal, in effect, to all the sins. Let all bear this in mind and work and work and work."

His confidence in the Lord Jagannātha was so deep-rooted that he proclaimed that disloyalty to Jagannātha should be taken as one of the *Mahāpātakas*, (greatest sin) probably in addition to the *pañca-Mahāpātakas*, described in the Dharma Śāstras. It explains how he cherished in his mind a great belief in and devotion towards the Lord. He was not only a worshipper and a patron of gods and the Brāhmanas, but also a renowned hero. He conquered many countries in southern India and extended his empire as far as Rāmeswaram. A pillar of victory was caused to be erected by him near Vidyānagara (Vijayanagaram), to which one of the copper-plate inscriptions of his son Pratāparudradeva contains a reference. This pillar caused terror in the minds of his rivals and probably it checked them in their aggression against the Gajapati Kings. The king Puruṣottama established an *Agrahāra* (*śāsan*) in his name towards the east of Nagulapalli in Andhra Pradesh where he constructed a temple of Jagannātha. This village is on the sea-shore (vide the *Bārabāṭi Kaifayata*, Madras Local Records, Vol. VI).

A popular story, as recorded in *Mādalāpāñji*,[106] discloses that he conquered Kāñcī and married Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of Kāñcī. The story goes to say that once the king of Kāñcī, while visiting Puri during the Car Festival, found the king of Orissa sweeping the precincts of the chariot. He despised the Orissan king for this menial work, and returned to his own kingdom without paying respect to the Lord Puruṣottama. The matter was duly reported to the king Puruṣottama, who grew wild and employed a huge army to march against Kāñcī. He was defeated first, but in his next attempt he was helped by Lords Jagannātha and Balabhadra. The gods rode on a black and a white horse in order to assist the king. The soldiers, coming to know this, fought with great enthusiasm. The story of this expedition is depicted on the walls of the Jagânnātha temple (Plate 11). This episode, depicted in the plates found in Gundica temple and in Śrīkūrma temple regarding the divine participation in the battle field, demoralised the enemy, and the kingdom of Kāñcī was easily captured. The king Puruṣottama, not only brought the princess Padmāvatī as a captive, but also brought the deity of Gaṇeśa[107] from there who was the presiding god of Kāñcī. This image of Gaṇeśa, according to a popular tradition, was installed in the Jagannātha temple and is known as Bhaṇḍa Gaṇeśa. R. Subramanyam has tried to show the authenticity of this tradition with great care.[108] The belief that the Lord Jagannātha and Balabhadra always helped the kings of Orissa became so strong among the Hindus that they began to consider the kings and the Lord with respect and devotion. According to Subramanyam, the Kāñcī Kāverī expedition of Puruṣottama took place in A.D. 1476-77, and it was directed against the Salva Narsiṁha who was then ruling over Kāñcī. The idol of Sākhigopāl was actually carried away from Rajmahendry. This tradition is still current, and the pilgrims who come from far and near show great respect to the Gajapati kings before they enter the temple for *darśana* (visit).

Puruṣottamadeva was a great patron of poets and Smṛti-writers. During his time, a Sanskrit work named *Abhinava Gītagovinda*, was composed which, according to a local tradition, was recited along with the *Gītagovinda* of the renowned poet Jayadeva, in the temple of Jagannātha.[109] It was said to have been opposed by some conservative disciples of the deity. The story goes that a few verses of the *Abhinava Gītagovinda* were inserted into the main *Gītagovinda* for the purpose of recitation. According to some, this was due to the instructions of the Lord Jagannātha in a dream to the king.[110]

The Oriya literature together with Sanskrit *kāvyas* and dramas thrived under the patronage of his father Kapilendradeva in whose time the first Oriya Mahābhārata was written by Śūdramuni Śaralā Dāsa. At this time several writers and poets came to prominence and they were responsible for the foundation of a new type of literature in Orissa propagating the Bhakti cult of Vaiṣṇavism. After Puruṣottama, his son Pratāparudradeva, ascended the throne. It was he who was responsible for the wide prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. During his reign Caitanya visited the country with some of his followers. According to R. Subramanyam, Caitanya came to reside at Puri in February-March, 1509 A.D., and Kāsī Miśra was his host. Orissa proved very receptive to his teachings.

He converted many. The first to be converted was Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the great Navya Nyāya scholar, patronised by the Gajapati Pratāparudradeva. Then, Caitanya travelled to the south and met Rai Rāmānanda on the banks of the Godāvarī in June 1509. They had long discussions. Rāmānanda was a Governor under Pratāparudra and was a reputed scholar and a religious man. *The Caitanya Caritāmṛta* gives us a long account of a dialogue between them, when at the command of the master, Rāmānanda narrated the various stages of Bhakti[111] (*Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 169). Pratāparudradeva embraced the new form of Vaiṣṇavism, and its doctrine was incorporated in the Cult of Puruṣottama. The vedic Brāhmanas of this country, failed to oppose this Neo-Vaiṣṇavism although they had, at first, no real sympathy for it. The interplay of different systems of Vaiṣṇavism and Tāntricism, then existing in this part of the country, actually transformed the Cult of Bhakti into an eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism. This reform gave enough scope to the followers of Caitanya to mould the literature accordingly. The *Pañca-Sakhā* (the five associates) of Caitanya played an important part in this matter and preached this new religion in such a way that every corner in Orissa was influenced by it and the literature, nay, the social life of Orissa came completely under its spell.

The poet, Jayadeva, who lived long before Caitanya with his *Gītagovinda* won the admiration not only of the people, but also of the Gajapati king, Pratāparudradeva. According to one of his inscriptions in the Jagannātha temple, it was strictly ordered not to sing any other song before the deities except the *Gītagovinda*. M. N. Chakravarti, while editing this inscription translates it as follows :

"On Wednesday the 10th *tithi* of *kakaḍā*, bright half in the 9th *aṅka* of the warrior, the elephant Lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karnāṭa, and *Kalabarga*, the mighty Pratāparudradeva Mahārāja orders : Dancing will be performed thus at the *Bhoga* time of the elder *ṭhākura* Balarāma and *Gītagovinda*

Thākura *i.e.* Jagannātha. This dancing will be held from the end of the evening *dhūpa* upto the time of *Barasiṅgār* (bed time) *dhūpa*. The batch (of dancing girls) of Baḍa Thākura, the fixed female dancers of Kapileśvara ṭhākur, the old batch, the Telaṅgā batch, all will learn no other song than *Gītagovinda* of Bara Thākur. They will not sing any other song. No other kind of dancing should be performed before the god. Besides the dancing, there are four Vaiṣṇava singers : they will sing only *Gītagovinda*. Hearing in one tone from them, those who are ignorant will learn the *Gītagovinda* song ; they should not learn any other song. That Superintendent who knowingly allows other songs to be sung, and other dancings to be performed, rebels against Jagannātha" (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII, 1898, pp. 96-97).

From this inscription we know that at the time of Pratāparudradeva there lived four classes of Vaiṣṇavas who performed *Nāmasaṅkirtan* during the time of *Barasiṅgār* in the temple, while four batches of dancers and musicians performed, dance and music. These four Vaiṣṇavas essentially represented four *sampradāyas* (sects) of the Vaiṣṇavas then prevalent at Puri. Till today we find four classes of Vaiṣṇavas performing their duties in the main temple as *'Rāmānuja Panthi,'* 'Viṣṇusvāmī Panthī,' *'Madhva Panthī'* and *'Gauḍīya Panthī'*. It further leads us to assume that Caitanya began to exercise his influence on Pratāparudradeva from 1500 A.D., which corresponds to the 4th *aṅka* (regnal year) of the king. But, in some texts it has been said that Caitanya came to Orissa in or about 1509-1510 A.D. So, the difference of ten years needs further investigation in order to fix the precise date of Caitanya's visit to Orissa.

One important fact which cannot be overlooked here is the introduction of the practice of reciting *Gītagovinda* before the deities in the main temple, and the sacramental nature of the song composed by the poet Jayadeva. Most probably, *Gītagovinda* was considered to be a work of a very high standard, and it was perhaps the reason that all Vaiṣṇavas began to respect it immensely. According to Nimbārka, Vallabhācārya, Śrī Caitanya and many other Vaiṣṇava Acāryas, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa concept was a sort of dualism referring to the Bhakta and Bhagavān *i.e.* the devotee and the god, and nothing else.

A great personality like Jagannātha Dāsa was born during this time. He composed the Oriya *Bhāgavata* to propagate the liberal Vaiṣṇavism among the people. The style which he adopted was so simple and the philosophy which he explained through his work was so universally accepted throughout Orissa that his *Bhāgavata* was daily recited and worshipped in each house. Even at present it is still continuing in almost all villages of Orissa. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Lord Jagannātha was taken by the people as the central figure of Vaiṣṇavism. He was the pivot of that particular form of Orissan Vaiṣṇavism.

This Vaiṣṇavism is of *Jñyāna-Miśrā-bhakti* School as against the *Śuddhabhakti* of Gauḍīya School.

We get the imperial accounts of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati kings from the literary sources of Orissa. The *Bhakti-Bhāgavata-Mahākāvyam* was written by Vyavahartu Mahāpātra Kavi ḍiṇḍima Rājarāj Rājaguru Jīvadevācārya in the 16th century A.D., and is said to have been composed in the military camp of Pratāparudradeva in his 17th regnal year.[112]

Kapilendradeva gave charities to Brāhmaṇas and bestowed jewellery in the name of Jagannātha having obtained huge wealth through the conquest of many countries. After ruling for 32 years he expired on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. His son, Puruṣottama succeeded him. Because of his remarkable leadership and nobility the people used to regard him as the incarnation of the god Puruṣottama. He, like the god Viṣṇu, satisfied both the goddesses of wealth (Lakṣmī) and learning (Sarasvatī).

One of the inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśwara of the 10th *aṅka* of Rāghabadeva (1163-64 A.D.) records the name of one Jayadeva *Sādhu Pradhān* who lived at Kūrma Pātaka (present Śrīkūrmam). In this inscription Jayadeva stands as a witness for purchase of land made in the temple of Kṛttivāsa of a village named Bāheḍākhaṇḍa from a merchant of Dāsapur.[113] Pandit S. N. Rājguru, while editing this inscription[114] (*Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 294) suggests that the name Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva may be the same as the great poet Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*. He was living in Śrīkūrma which was a religious centre of Vaiṣṇavism of the Rāmānuja Sect. The head of the temple was, for a long time, the *guru* of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. This suggestion may be accepted. Although no further evidence is available at present, still we can not overlook the point that the poet, Jayadeva, lived in 1163-64 A.D., which corresponds to the 10th *aṅka* year of Rāghavadeva of Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. According to the Antarigam plates (*E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 43-44), Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism was prevalent in Orissa from the time of Jaya Bhañja, son of Rāya Bhañja. It shows that the Śrī-sect of Vaiṣṇavism was popular in Orissa before Rāmānuja. The date of the plate corresponds to the 11th century A.D., and, since the importance of Śrīkūrmam began to rise from the time of Choḍagaṅga as well as his father, it appears that the poet Jayadeva lived at Śrīkūrmam and was influenced by the Vaiṣṇavism of that locality. Another poet, Kavikarṇapūra also lived here. It will not be out of place to mention the writings of a poet named Umāpati, who composed the *praśasti* section of two inscriptions, the Amareśwara (Boni village in Śrīkākulam district) and the other Ananta Vāsudeva (Bhuvaneśwara) temple inscriptions. The dates of these two temple inscriptions are 1271 A.D. and 1278 A.D. respectively.

The study of the language of their *praśastis* reminds us of the language of the *Gītagovinda*. It is not improbable that Umāpatī was influenced by Jayadeva. So we can safely fix Jayadeva's date some time before the 12th century A.D. He thus lived during the time of Chodagaṅga and his sons. From these *praśastis* we get the name of Kavi Udayana as the first commentator of the *Gītagovinda*. The commentary is popularly known as the *Bhāvabibhāvinī*. Udayana seems to have been the *Praśasti*-writer of the Megheśvara temple inscription at Bhuvaneśwara dated 1182 A.D. and also of the Śobhaneśvara temple inscription of Śri Vaidyanātha mentioned before. From these accounts it is safe for us to conclude that Jayadeva was living before the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, Kavi-Narasiṁhadeva gave permission for the recitation of the *Gītagovinda* for the first time in the temple of Jagannātha, (*Mādalāpāñji*, p. 37, Prāchi[115] Edition), Kavi-Narasiṁha, according to the Gaṅga inscriptions, is Narasiṁha II who ruled from 1278-1309 A.D.[116]

Jayadeva is the first known poet in Orissa who introduced the Rādhā cult in literature. Prior to him, we seldom get evidence regarding the worship of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. As a matter of fact, Kṛṣṇa was identified with Lord Viṣṇu who underwent as many as ten incarnations such as Matsya, Kūrma and so on. Kṛṣṇa is not according to the Vaiṣṇavas, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, as he is considered equivalent to the god Viṣṇu. During this time, the Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa, while accepting this view, added one more god to their pantheon, namely Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (Plate 12). This image of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa has four arms, holding by *saṅkha, cakra* and *murali*. It is an image constructed in the transitional period. One beautiful image of this god is now preserved in the State Museum at Bhuvaneśwara and another is still worshipped at Jagannātha-Ballava Maṭha at Purī. This was perhaps made before Jayadeva, otherwise Kṛṣṇa would have been shown with his consort Rādhā by his side. We shall discuss this aspect in detail elsewhere. Our main object in pointing out Jayadeva's concept of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in his *Gītagovinda* is for the sake of determining the time when the old system of Vaiṣṇavism developed into Neo-Vaiṣṇavism.*

Jayadeva, in his invocation in *Gītagovinda*, addressed all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu while describing Lord Kṛṣṇa as *Jagadiśa-Hare*. It means that he associated Hari with Jagadīsa who is reponsible for these incarnations. The word Jagadīśa is the synonym of Jagannātha. The same title was given to Buddha by Indrabhūti in his *Jñānasiddhi*. The choice of the word "Jagannātha" by Indrabhūti and that of the word "Jagadīśa" by Jayadeva are not of accidental coincidence. This gives a clear idea regarding the conception of Jagadīśa and Jagannātha. Thus, Jagadīśa or Jagannātha is compared with Hari by Jayadeva, while the former associated the same with the Buddha. Perhaps Jagannātha, the presiding deity of Orissa, came from that time onwards, to be considered as the Avatārī of the Buddha.

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* Out of the three main services render'd to the deities in the temple, i.e. Angilā, Cancu & Mahānāyaka, the Angilā Sevā or Purānic Sevā is most important, which includes the recitation of the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadev everyday just after two principal dhūpas.

According to the literary tradition Jayadeva's birth place has been identified with the village Kenduḷi of Purī district in Orissa and he according to the Liṅgarāj Temple Inscription, has been identified with the poet Jayadeva. This village of Kenduḷi has been confirmed by Nārīyaṇa Das of 14th c in his Sarbāṅgasundarī Ṭikā and Rāṇākumbha of Citor of 15th c in his Rasikapriyā Ṭikā—both are the commentaries on the *Gītagovinda.** Unfortunately, we do not know the *gotra* of Jayadeva.[117] Śrīkākulam and particularly Śrīkūrmam happened to have been the places of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas where, according to tradition, the poets Vilvamaṅgala and Kavikarṇapura lived. Not far from Śrīkūrmam there was a centre of the Mahāyāna Buddhists at Śālihundam on the bank of the Vaṁśadhārā river in the Karaput district of Orissa. A large number of Mahāyāna Buddhist Monuments have been found there, and they belong to the 9th or the 10th century A.D., or even to an earlier period. Most probably, the various modifications which ultimately reoriented the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa might have taken place in that area during the time of Choḍagaṅga's conquest of Utkal and the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama.

That Śrīkūrmam was the "*Gurupīṭha*" of the Imperial Gaṅgas for a long time is proved from the visit af Narahari Tīrtha in the time of Narasiṁhadeva as stated before. He was sent to Orissa for the propagation of the philosophy of Mādhva Sampradāya, and he exercised great influence not only in the religious sphere but also in the political field of Kaliṅga. Śrīkūrmam being an important seat of religion of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it is not improbable to suggest that many rituals and systems peculiar to the locality were introduced in the temple of Jagannātha. The terminology used in the temple administration also leads us to the same conclusion. For instance, the Devadāsī system which is still in vogue in the Jagannātha temple was formerly introduced in the temple of Śrikūrmam during the time of Vajrahasta V, the grand-father of Choḍagaṅga. Regarding the terminologies, we particularly emphasise the word "Kuḍuā" referring to the earthen pot filled with cooked rice for the purpose of *Bhogam* in the temple. This is obviously derived from the word "Kuḍu" in Dravidian language which means boiled rice. Similarly, the word "Koilivaikunṭha" which is the name of a particular part of the temple is also a Dravidian term, according to which "Koel" means "temple". These terms would not have been adopted in the strictly conservative atmosphere of a temple like that of Jagannātha if the customs associated with these words had not been borrowed from some religious institutions where the Dravidian people had a strong-hold. Therefore, our suggestion about the claim of Śrikūrma Kṣetra as the place of Vaiṣṇavite influence as well as Jayadeva's place of residence cannot be ignored.

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* An attempt has also been made by some scholars to identify the birthplace of Jayadeva with the village Kandalibāḍa in the Śrīkākuḷam district which was donated by an early Gaṅga king named Devendra Varman of the 398th Gaṅga era in favour of some Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja gotra.

After Pratāparudradeva, his minister Govinda Vidyādhara ascended the throne. He issued some grants in the temple of Siṃhāchalam.[118] M. M. Chakravarti ascribed an inscription in the Jagannātha temple of Puri to the same king ; but subsequently it was proved by Pandit S. N. Rājguru that it belonged to Cakrapratāpa, son of Govinda Vidyādhara. In this inscription in Oriya the following passage is found.

> "*Jagamohana mandape Srī Jagannātha chāmure*
> *jaṇāile—Bho Jagannātha, toha padmapāda dekhi*
> *āsivā yivāre vina savuthi narka—viñjha udayagiri-*
> *saripariyante svadeśī paradeśī yātrimanañkara*
> *dānaprati Gadajātara rājāmana...*
> *Pālana karive. Ye ekathā anyathā karai se*
> *Śrī Jagannāthaku droha karai. Svahaste Brāhmaṇa-*
> *badhakarāpāpa karai.*"[119]

Chakravarti translates the passage as follows :

"Pratāpadeva Mahārāja, in the porch and before Lord Jagannātha thus made known (His prayer) Oh Jagannātha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) upto Vindhya and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner. The kings of Garjat will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannātha and gets the sin of killing a Brāhmin with his own hands."

It shows how the kings of Orissa used to offer their deepest regards to Lord Jagannātha even at the time of discharging their duties as rulers and also while proclaiming their verdicts on subordinate chiefs as well as temple-officers.

During Govinda Vidyādhara's reign, one Raghubhañja Chhoṭarāya rebelled against him as stated in the *Mādalāpāñji*. At that time he was engaged in fighting with the Muslim ruler of Golkunda. While returning from there he endowed some charities to the temple of Siṃhāchalam in or about A.D. 1537 together with a charity during one of his *aṅka* years in between 3 and 8, (A.D. 1535-39). According to the Muslim accounts quoted by Sewell, Quliqutb Shah of Golkunda raided Orissa and defeated the Gajapati king at Rajahmundry.[120] It was a crucial period in the history of Orissa and her independence was threatened not only from the north-east and north by the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Delhi, but also from the South by the kings of Golkunda. But fortunately, a very able king like Mukundadeva came to the throne who not only resisted all these attacks, but himself proceeded almost into the heart of Bengal.

After Pratāparudra's defeat in the hands of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāy, the king of Vijayanagar, some time after A.D. 1513, the political power of Orissa began to disintegrate. His sons, who were weak, were easily overthrown by Mukundadeva who came from the south and belonged to the family of the Eastern Chālukyas. So he was popularly known as the Teleṅgā Mukunda. Although political uncertainty prevailed in Orissa during his regime due to frequent raids of the Muhammedans from Bengal, he had utmost devotion for the Lord Jagannātha counting upon His mercy to face the crisis during his reign. He came to the throne in 1559 A.D. and ruled upto 1568. Being a great king and warrior, he was accepted by Akbar, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi as one of his friends.

According to the *Mādalāpāñji*, he proceeded in his 10th regnal year upto the banks of the Ganges (Hugli) and fought a successful battle with the Muhammedans of Gauḍa. Some of his feudatory chiefs, however, particularly one Rāmacandra Bhañja, started a rebellion against him. This time the Muhammedans, taking advantage of the situation, penetrated deep into the heart of Orissa. The king was absent from the capital. So a moment of confusion and anarchy prevailed and a renegade Muslim soldier, named Kālāpāhāḍa, occupied the royal fort of Bārābaṭi in Cuttack and indulged in iconoclastic activities throughout the country. He raided the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. The deities were removed to some secret place for safety before his arrival.

During the short period of his reign, Mukundadeva established some Brahmin *śāsanas* in his name, and endowed charities to the deities of Jagannātha, Śrīkūrma, and Simhāchalam.

According to another inscription in the temple of Drākṣārāma in the east Godāvarī district, Andhra Pradesh, which was engraved in Mukundadeva's 10th *aṅka* yeaı, he endowed numerous pearls measuring to the weight of his own body to Brāhmaṇas together with the sixteen *Mahādānas* or great-charities. After his victory in Gauḍa he returned to the capital where he lavishly endowed charities and established Brāhmaṇa *agraharas* (villages). These were implemented before the Lord Jagannātha at Śrī Puruṣottama Kṣetra with a view to increasing the stock of virtues of his parents as well as himself. He was the last independent king of Orissa and his activities against the Muhammedans of Bengal were of so dynamic a nature that the Muslim kings became hostile to Orissa. Kālāpāhāḍa started an extensive campaign for a large scale destruction of the temples and deities of the Hindus. It is also said that he removed the images from the Jagannātha temple and put them into fire. This act was perpetrated soon after the death of

Mukundadeva brought about through the conspiracy of Rājā Rāmacandra Bhañja, a treacherous subordinate of Keonjhar.

After the death of Mukundadeva, his sons were ousted by Rāmacandradeva, who belonged to a Śūdra clan according to Sirjang stone inscription of his time. It is stated that Mukundadeva's sons appealed to Akbar for the restoration of their inheritance, whereupon Rājā Mānsingh was sent to Orissa to settle the dispute between Rāmacandradeva and the heirs of Mukundadeva. Mānsingh visited Puri when the *Chandan-Yātrā* (festival) was going on. Mānsingh, when approached by the Sevakas of Jagannātha temple to decide on the rightful claimant to the throne of Orissa, gave his decision in favour of Rāmacandradeva who was then declared as the king of the country. He was a great warrior and also a devout worshipper of Jagannātha, for which reason he was compared with the god Murāri in the *Mukund Vijayi Gaṇitādarśa* alias *Svarapaddhati*, a book written in the time of Mukundadeva II. From the inscription of Kasiari it is known that he ascended the throne of Orissa in 1568 A.D. (Proceedings of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXII, 1945, p. 87 ff.).[121] The *Kośalānanda Mahākāvya* also states that Rāmacandradeva saved Orissa from sinking into the ocean.[122]

Māḍalāpāñji says that in the 9th year of Rāmacandradeva he brought the *Brahma* or the essential part of the deity from the fort of Kujaṅga, and performed *Vanayāga* ceremony at Khurda when the images were rebuilt.[123] In his 11th year on the 18th day of Kakaḍā corresponding to the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, the deity Puruṣottama was reinstalled on the *Ratnasiṁhāsana* of the main temple. It is further stated that the *Brahma* (essential part of the body of Jagannātha) was brought by one Bisar Mohanty Pura Naik. The above combination of astronomical dates corresponds to the 17th July 1575 A.D. according to Śrī Kedāranāth Mohāpātra. But a comparison with the *Indian Ephemeris* of Swami Kannupillai, Vol. V, p. 353,[124] shows that it is Śrāvaṇa Śukla Daśamī and not Navamī. This slight discrepancy may, however, be ignored. For the enactment of these meritorious deeds, i.e., reinstallation of the principal image in the temple which had remained vacant since the atrocities perpetrated by Kālāpāhāḍa and his Muslim followers, the king Rāmacandradeva was given the title of *Abhinava Indradyumna*, or the New Indradyumna. This is recorded in a Sanskrit drama named *Śrikṛṣṇa Bhakta Bātsalya Caritam.*[125]

Chānd Kavi, an Oriya poet, in one of his unpublished manuscripts now preserved in the State Museum of Orissa describes him as :

Navadina yātrāśeṣe
Jagannivāse
Nilādripravese Rāma mana ullāse...
Abhinava Indradyumna Avatārā, yuge yuge

rahile kirati vistārā.
Rāmacandranarapati durlabha kīrttiḥ etc."

Another poet named Haladhara Miśra, who in his *Basanto-tsava Mahākāvyam*, describes him as the new incarnation of Indradyumna. There it is said that at the instruction of Viṣṇu, the king Rāmacandra, took possession of the Lord's *Brahma* in a box and installed the same in the blue mountain or the main temple. Because of this he assumed the title of New Indradyumna. This title was also used by one of his successors Vīrakiśoredeva.[126] In his time Śāktism being popular in Orissa, a book named *Durgotsava Candrika* is written in which Rāmacandradeva is described as devout worshipper of Ambikā or Durgā.

During his time Orissa completely lost her independence and the administration passed into the hands of the Moghuls. So far as the southern part of Orissa was concerned, it was under the Sultans of Bahāmani and it extended to the south of the Chilkā Lake. In such circumstance the kings of the Bhoi dynasty of Orissa came to have only a limited jurisdiction and a meagre source of income. Due to their prestige and position among the Hindus, they were called as *Thākura Rājās* of Orissa. The pilgrims who came from far and near for '*darśana*' (vision of the deity) used to visit the king first before entering into the temple. As a matter of fact the *Thākura Rājā* of Khurda became the sole custodian of the temple from the time of Akbar. Mānsingh, being a Hindu and a devout worshipper of Jagannātha, was deputed by Akbar to come to the aid of the distressed Hindus who were subjected to the atrocious deeds of Kālāpāhāḍa. Thus, a sort of compromise was effected, and the prestige and the position of the *Rājā* in the religious sphere remained intact.

After Rāmacandradeva, those who were associated with the affairs of Jagannātha temple were Vīrakiśoredeva and his queen-mother. They made some improvements in the temple ; for instance, they not only constructed the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* and *Snāna Maṇḍapa* containing the *Snāna Vedis*, but also remodelled the *Ratnaveḍī*. (vide. *Mādalāpāñji*). According to some inscriptions,* the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* and the *Ratna Siṁhāsana* (the main pedestal of the images) were also constructed during that time ; but according to the *Mādalāpāñji*, Vīrakiśoredeva's grand-mother is said to have constructed the *Nirmālya Maṇḍapa*, which was named as *Kanaka Maṇḍapa*. His chief queen (*Paṭṭamahādevi*) incurred the expenses for plastering the entire temple. The Rājā repaired the *gumoṭa* or the upper part of the *Gopura* of the northern gate and the steps of the *Snāna Vedi*. He also endowed varieties of ornaments for the rituals of the deities.

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* The relevant inscription is in the Nāṭamandir of Jagannātha Temple. It is not yet edited.

The temple during the Mahratta rule :

According to the Moghul-Mahratta treaty concluded between the Nawab Aliverdi Khān of Bengal and Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur, Orissa came under the Mahratta domination during the time of Vīrakiśoradeva, (1737-1793 A.D.).[127] He accepted the suzerainty of the Mahrattas like the other chiefs of Orissa. During their regime the temple of Jagannātha was freed from desecration and depredation it had to undergo during the Muslim rule which lasted for about two centuries. The Mahrattas themselves being staunch Hindus and devotees of Jagannātha, encouraged His worship, got the ceremonies and festivals properly observed and introduced new kinds of oblations.[128] In 1755 A.D. they provided annual grants from the state revenue through an endowment in the form of an estate known as Sātais Hāzāri Mahāl, yielding an annual income of Rs. 27,000/- for the maintenance of the temple. They also made grants of land for some of the Maṭhas of Puri, and made good the deficit between the income and expenditure of the temple.[129] The Mahrattas also built some new structures in the premises of the temple of Jagannātha. They brought the stones from the broken temple of Konārka to build some portions of the *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* of Jagannātha and they set the triangular stone pieces brought from the same place for the outer compound wall of the temple. They also brought the Aruṇa pillar from Konārka and placed it in front of the Puri temple.[130]

The Rājā of Khurda was a representative of the Mahratta Government, and his authority in the temple was very limited.[131] The Mahrattas retained the pilgrims tax which yielded nearly 9 lakhs of rupees annually.[132] Thus, in the words of Hunter, the pilgrims were made to pay for the state liberality to their god. It appears from the correspondence made by the Collector of Jagannātha with one Secretary to the Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack regarding complaints against the *Praharees* of the temple that there were three *Parichās,* viz. Sewajee Pandit, Jagannāth Rājguru and Amna Pandit, whose sole duty was to take care of the interior management of the temple. Any complaint against them was made to Ekādee Pandit at Cuttack, whose decision was final. This shows that the Mahratta Government appointed three Pandits to run the day-to-day administration of the temple, and the final authority was Ekādee Pandit at Cuttack who was controlling the affairs of the temple through these three Pandits.[133]

The Temple during the British Rule :

In 1803 the British occupied Orissa. The English army under Colonel Harcourt took possession of the Puri town and the temple of Jagannātha without any opposition. This was on the 18th of September, 1803.[134] Lord Wellesley had issued instructions to Col. Campbell, the Officer Commanding of the British troops in Orissa, that on his arrival at Puri, he should take every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda and to the religious beliefs of the Brāhmanas and the pilgrims. He should also assure the priests that they would not be required to pay any revenue or tribute to the British Government which they had been paying to the Mahrattas and they would be duly protected in the exercise of their religious duties. At the same time he was not required to contract any engagement with the priests which might limit the power of the British Government to make "such arrangement in respect of the shrine as might be necessary in future." When the British army entered Puri, they took the temple under their own protection and some Hindu Sepoys were left in charge of it.[135] The Puri district Gazetteer records that during the first few years, the British followed the system of the temple-administration laid down by the Mahrattas. It also appears that they used to make up the difference between the receipts and the expenditure of the temple directly.[136] "The total average income per year from various sources taking into consideration the total amount received during six years, prior to the report, was Rs. 31,884-12 annas and 13 *gaṇḍās*, and the average expenses per year was Rs. 65,995-4 annas and 9 *gaṇḍās*."

From the very beginning of the British administration, a *Parichā* was kept in charge of the management of the temple, and in 1805 the Collector was authorised to receive applications from the *Parichā* in connection with the administration of the temple. Meanwhile, the Christian Missionaries bitterly criticised[137] the Government for taking interest in the temple of Jagannātha. The Government, therefore, decided to give up the thorough supervision of the idolatrous rites in the temple. By the Regulation IV of 1806 the Superintendence was transferred to an assembly of 3 Pandits nominated by the Collector of Pilgrims taxes and appointed by the Government. The Pilgrims tax, which was temporarily suspended in 1803, was reimposed in 1806, and a Collector of Pilgrims tax was appointed by the Government. For the purpose of levying pilgrims tax, a classification of pilgrims into three categories was made. Under the British administration the temple annually contributed to the State revenue an amount varying from half to one lakh of rupees.

By the Regulation IV of 1809, the Assembly of Pandits was abolished and management of the temple was transferred to the Rājā of Khurda. He was taken as hereditary Superintendent. The Rājā who was not granted supreme authority, was assisted by three principal servants of the temple. Rājā Mukundadeva II of Khurda, who had been taken prisoner due to a rebellion in 1804, was entrusted with the management of the temple after his release. It was made a condition that the Government grant of Rs. 55,000 should be spent on the maintenance of the temple.[138] He was also granted a "*Mālikana*" of Rs. 2,333 per month and ordered to stay at Puri. During the superintendentship of his son, Rāmacandradeva (1817-54), the site of the Rājā Nahar (Palace) was shifted from Bālisāhi to Baḍadāṇḍa.[189]

The Pilgrims tax yielding a net amount of £5955 was considered by the East India Company as a State sanction to idolatry. The Company, therefore, abolished the Pilgrims tax and vested the Rājā of Puri with full authority in regard to the management of the temple and its properties by Act X of 1840. The temple authorities were forbidden to impose any restriction on the pilgrims for admission into the temple. "The right of free admission and free worship became a recognised privilege of the general body of the pilgrims."[140] Though the Government gave up all connections with the temple, yet to honour the pledges made in regard to the protection of the temple, it did not interfere with the previous grants and moreover continued to make an annual payment of Rs. 53,000 towards the expenditure of the temple.

In 1843, the Sātāisi Hazāri Mahāl, yielding an annual rental income of Rs. 17,420, having been made over to the Rājā, the annual grant was reduced to Rs. 35,738. In 1845, it was further reduced to Rs. 23,321 because of some grants made by the Rājā of Berar for the temple. In 1856, the above amount was further reduced to Rs. 7,000 to meet the expenses of a police establishment towards the protection of the pilgrims. But, subsequently the Government decided to pay Rs. 6,804 to the Superintendent who would make his own arrangements for the maintenance of peace and order inside the temple. In 1858, the Government decided to discontinue these payments and to transfer to the Rājā the Ekrājāt Mahāl in lieu thereof.[141] The Rājā was to possess the transferred lands as jamindar or trustee hereditarily. In 1863, certain lands yielding equivalent amount was transferred to the Rājā. As provided in the deeds of transfer, the Government thereafter ceased to have any connection with the management of the temple.

Meanwhile, on the death of Rājā Vīrakishoredeva, the management of the temple fell on his widow, Suryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādevi, during the minority of her adopted son, Dibyasiṁhadeva. This was a period of growing mismanagement and the situation had become tense in 1878 when Rājā Dibyasiṁha was convicted on a charge of murder and was sentenced to transportation for life. This created a very anomalous position in-as-much as under Act X of 1840 the Superintendence of the temple was vested in the Rājā even after his transportation and there was no provision in the act for any succession to the post of Superintendent. In 1884, on the application of Suryamaṇi Paṭṭamahādevi, the grand-mother and guardian of the minor Mukundadeva, the title of Rājā was conferred on the young prince. It was thought that the said title was necessary to enable him to be the Sevaka Rājā of the

Jagannātha temple.[142] In order to honour the public interest and to ensure better management of the temple, the Government instituted a suit in 1885 for a declaration that the office of the Superintendent was vacant, and that new trustees should be appointed and a scheme of management should be worked-out. The suit was hotly contested, and a cry that religion was in danger was raised in the press. During the pendency of appeal preferred to by Suryamaṇi in the High Court of Calcutta there was a compromise in 1888 which, *inter alia*, provided that, during the minority of the Rājā, his grand-mother would manage the affairs as his guardian with the assistance of a Manager.

As Rājā Mukundadeva, after the attainment of his maturity, took little interest in the affairs of the temple, mismanagement continued there for some time. In the circumstances the Superintendent was compelled to appoint a Government Officer as Manager. Accordingly in 1902, Rai Bahādur Rājakiśore Das, a Deputy Magistrate, became the first Manager of the temple. Rājā Mukundadeva had adopted Rāmacandradeva from the Rāj family of Bamra State ; but subsequently repudiated his adoption. Thereupon, Rāmacandradeva filed a suit for declaration of his adoption and obtained a decree in his favour which was confirmed by the Patna High Court. On the death of Rājā Mukundadeva, Rāmacandradeva took charge of the temple as the Superintendent. The present Rājā is the son and successor of Rājā Rāmacandradeva. After the passing of the Temple Act of 1952 by the Orissa State Assembly, the temple is now being managed by a Board of Trustees in which the present Rājā Vīrakiśoredeva is a member.

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5. *Ibid.* p. 5 and *Jagannātha Kayfyat* in Sanskrit, p. 2 (unpublished MSS.)
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25a. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

25b. *The Bārhaspatyasūtraṁ*, Ch. III, p. 20, Sutras 119 & 120.

25c. *Ibid.* Introductory remarks, p. 8. ; F.W. Thomas guesses the date to be 12th century A.D.

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29. On palaeographic ground it can be referred to the 8th century A.D. says Dr. H. C. Ray in his *D.H.N.I.*, p. 414 ff.

30. *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 1, pp. 1-6. Dr. R. D. Banerjee attributed the date of this grant of the 8th century A.D.

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37. *The Pujāripali Inscription of Gopāla Deba, Mohākosal Historical Society's Paper*, Vol. II, p. 68.

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39. *Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Kalinga* by M. M. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, Page III.

40. *Kielhorn E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 180.

41. *Tīrtha Khaṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru G.O.* Series XCVIII, p. 235.

42. *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 330.

43. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, p. 16 and *Orissa and her remains*, p. 403, by M. M. Ganguli.

44. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 23 and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 372-73.

45. There is another 64 Yoginīpīṭha at Rāṇipur Jharial of Balangir District of Orissa.

46. Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvan Mahādevi—*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II (1916), Plate IV, p. 422.

47. The depiction of these three symbols or figures may also be interpreted as three pieces of logs (*Dāru*) taken on the bullock cart or they may be described in the *Mādalapāñji*, the three images taken by the temple priests to a secured place at Sonepur where the Javana King, Raktabāhu invaded Puri 146 years before the reign of Jajāti Kesarī.

48. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 68-69.

49. In the copper plate inscription of Prabhañjan Varman of the Māṭhara dynasty (6th century A.D.) we find that he granted lands to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of Kārtika Śukla Dvādaśi which is the Utthāna Dvādaśi (Viṣṇu rising from sleep) *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I. by S. N. Rajaguru.

50. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 62.

51. One Prolācāri was appointed in the temple of Mukhaliṅgam as religious Superintendent for recording the charities made to the temple. The inscription is dated Śakābda 1030 or 1108 A.D. in the time of *Choḍagaṅga Inscriptions of Orissa*,- Vol. III, Part 1, p. 56. The title *Achāri* is generally used by the priests of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Section.
52. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44-47.
53. Rāmānuja philosophy and various teachers and Totadrinath's Guru-Paramparā *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by H. P. Sastri, No. 115, p. 87.
54. H. C. Raychoudhury's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 179.
55. *Mahāvaṁśa*, Ch. 59, V. 46.
56. *Ibid*, Ch. 90, Verses 32-33.
57. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 59, by S. N. Rajaguru.
58. We like to invite the attention of the readers to a passage found in the Narsingapalli plates of Hastivarman where a donation was made to the God Nārāyaṇa who is addressed as Saptalokaikanātha *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 15, by S. N. Rajaguru.
59. N. G. M's *Inscription of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 20. The word *Vāk-brahma* being a synonym of *Nādabrahma* may be taken as *Oṁkāra* which was then considered as a symbol of God Puruṣottama.
60. Garteśwara Temple Inscription of the time of Choḍagaṅga. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44-48.
61. *S...*, Vol. V, No. 1283, and *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, p. 66.
62. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, p. 63.
63. *E..*, Vol. XXIX, p. 127.
64. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 762-763, and *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, p. 70.
65. Nāgari Copper Plate of Anangabhīma Deva, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-245 and *Indo-Aryan Culture*, Vol. II, 1953, pp. 120-21.
66. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 34.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 66-67.
69. *Tabakaṭ-i-Nasiri*, pp. 588-589.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1329, p. 467.
72. The temple which was constructed by Anangabhīma Deva III according to his Nāgari Plates is not existing today. We believe that it was demolished by the Muslims when they captured the town towards the 16th century A.D. Most probably the temple was located near the present Tulsipur area of Cuttack town which is still known as Dewal-Sahi or the temple street.
73. The *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 32-33.
74. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 72.
75. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 137, by S. N. Rajaguru.
76. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 127-131 and *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, pp. 66-67 ff.
77. *E.I.*, Vol. VI, p. 262.
78. *R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and minor religious system*, p. 82.
79. The worship of Rāma by the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga is proved by their family God Rāmaśvāmi who was installed in their dwelling place. The remnant of this old system is still prevalent in the Rāj family of Paralakhimundi (Ganjam District) which is descended from the Gaṅgas. In almost all the earlier temples we find the true images of Rāma and Sītā. This shows that Rāma Cult was popular in Orissa in earlier times.
80. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. i, p. 67 ff.
81. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 278-288 ff.

82. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 29 ff (Verse 71).
83. *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, p. 136.
84. *Tabakaṭ-i-Nasiri*, pp. 762-63 ff.
85. *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. III, p. 234.
86. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. I, p. 73.
87. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 155-57.
88. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. I, p. 77.
89. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 159-60.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Mādalāpāñjī*, pp. 52, 55, 61-62.
92. The Ist Aṅka of the *Chandrakalā Nāṭikā*, Prastāvanā śloka, p. 2. Edited by S. N. Rajguru and Sarbeśvara Dās. Published by the Orissa State Museum.
93. For other details regarding Jālāluddin, please see R. C. Majumdar's *History of Bengal*. Dr. D. R. Subramanyam's *The Sūryavaṁśi Gajapatis of Orissa*, pp. 34-35. According to Subramanyam, his first attack was against the rulers of Bengal—His book p. 35.
94. *J.A.S.B.*, (1900), Vol. LXIX, pp. 178-88 and *Utkal Sāhitya*, Ch. XXI, No. 9.
95. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, pp. 100-103.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Paraśurāmavijoya Nāṭakaṁ*—Pandit K. N. Mahāpātra attributes this *Nāṭakaṁ* to 1458 A.D. (A descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, Vol. II, published by Orissa Sahitya Akademy—Introduction, p. XC.
99. Gopinathpur Temple Inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva.
100. *Ibid*, Verse IV.
101. R. Subramanyam "The Sūrya Vaṁśi Gajapatis of Orissa", p. 176.
102. *Mādalāpāñjī*, p. 44.
103. *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.
104. *Sarasvati Vilāsa*. Quoted in the Utkala Sāhitya Magazine 1931 Issue.
105. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, Vol. LXII, pp. 91-98.
106. *Mādalāpāñjī*, pp. 50-51.
107. From iconographical studies we should put this Gaṇeśa in the Tāntric Pantheism as the tip of its trunk touches a female organ which was only akin to the Tāntric cult.
108. According to Dr. R. Subramanyam, the Kāñchī-Kāveri expedition of Puruṣottama took place in 1476 A.D. *The Sūrya Vaṁsi Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 85.
109. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VII, p. 203.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *The Sūryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa*, p. 169.
112. *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvyaṁ*, last canto, verses No. 11-12.
113. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 179-82.
114. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 294, by S. N. Rajaguru.
115. *Mādalāpāñjī*, p. 37. The passage "Gīta Govinda Selaukale" is to be explained. The word "Selau" is decidedly borrowed from the Telegu language which means permitting. The editor of the *Mādalāpāñ'i* has wrongly interpreted the word "Selaukale" for Sūbhadele i.e. introduced or began.
116. *O H.R.J.*, Vol. V.
117. Ins. of Or. Vol. II.
118. See *Madras Archaeological Reports* 1899, Nos. 247a, 297a, 274a, 266a, 266b, 296q.

119. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, pp. 212-223.
120. *Historical Inscriptions of South India.* p. 248.
121. Proceedings of the *Indian Historical Record Commission*, Vol. XXII, 1945. p. 87.
122. Kosalānanda Mahākāvyaṃ, Ch. XVII (unpublished)—Preserved in the Orissa State Museum. Bhubaneśwar.
123. *Mādalāpāñjī*, p. 63. *Jagannātha Kaifyat MSS* and *Chayani Chakaḍā p.* 7.
124. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 353.
125. Srikṛṣṇa Bhakta Bachala Caritaṃ (unpublished)—Preserved in State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
126. V. Rangachary's Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 696.
127. Dr. H. K. Mahatab—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 468.
128. *History* of Poori by Brijkishore Ghose, 1848.
129. Reports of the Special Officer under Srī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 15, Dr. H. K. Mahatab
130. K. S. Mishra, *Utkala Itihāsa*, pp. 284-85.
131. Report of the Special Officer under Srī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 15.
132. K. S. Mishra's *Utkala Itihāsa*, p. 284.
133. List of correspondence preserved by Board of Revenue—Government of Orissa, Part I, Vol, II, p. 122.
134. Marquis of Wellislay's despatches, *Calcutta Review*, 1868. Vol. X, p. 238.
135. Dr. H. K. Mahatab's *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 432.
136. *Puri* by C. M. Ācārya, p. 34.
137. *Orissa and its Evangelists* 1815, p. 69 and W. J. Lawries *Orissa the garden of superstition and Idolatory.*
138. *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1881, p. 55.
139. Reports of the Special Officer under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act. p. 20.
140. *Ibid.* p. 21.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Puri* by C. M. Ācārya, pp. 37-38.

CHAPTER III

JAGANNĀTHA IN TRADITION

To determine the antiquity of Jagannātha is a difficult task. Legend and tradition throw some light on the problem, but a critical examination of the evidences furnished by them is essential for any reasonable hypothesis to be made on their basis. It is necessary to turn to Sanskrit texts both Vedic and Purāṇic for the purpose.

In the Ṛgveda we find a reference to *Dāru* in the *Sūkta* which runs thus "*Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ pāre apūruṣam, tadā rabhasva durhaṇo tena gaccha parastaram.*"[1] Sāyanācārya, (1300-1380 A.D.) interpreted this *sūkta* in the following manner. "There exists on sea-shore in a far off place the image of a deity of the name Puruṣottama which is made of wood floating as it were, in the sea. O ye, by worshipping that wood indestructable, attain the supreme place of the Vaiṣṇavite.'[2]

But after his own interpretation, he casually mentions another interpretation which was prevalent at that time, but which was perhaps considered by him as unsatisfactory.

The second interpretation means that the evil spirit is asked to use the *Dāru* (wood) as boat for crossing the sea and going over to the far off island.[3] This verse also occurs in the *Atharva Veda* with a slight variation.[4] It is difficult to treat this repetition of the same verse in the *two vedas* as unmeaning. This may lead some to suppose that the worship of the deity Puruṣottama or Dārubrahma might have been in vogue even in the remote past ; but the supposition on the basis of this single verse of cryptic nature may not be universally accepted.

P. V. Kane does not accept Sāyaṇa's interpretation. He is of opinion that the second interpretation fits more with the context. However, when he wrote this he was not aware of the *Atharva Veda* extract. An acquaintance with the latter might have led him to accept Sāyaṇa's interpretation.[5]

At the time of Sāyaṇa the popularity of Dārubrahma conception in Utkal was great, and the wooden image of Puruṣottama singularly attracted the attention of Vedic and other scholars in India. This might have influenced him to suggest the above explanation. In Puruṣottama tattva (*Jiv.* Vol. II, p. 563), Raghunandana explains the same verse from both *Ṛgveda* and *Atharva-Veda* with reference to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri.

According to Sāyaṇa, there are three *sūktas* in the *Ṛgveda*[6] which suggest that *Dāru* was regarded as the symbol of *Brahman*. The immutable aspect of *Brahman* as different from the mutable aspect is compared with a tree containing many branches which in its aspect of unity is the absolute, the motionless and the eternal one (*Vṛkṣa eva divitiṣṭatyeka*)[7]. In these *sūktas* the seer enquires "what can be that tree and what can be that forest in which it stands out and out of which the earth and heaven came to be designed by the gods." Sāyaṇa after reading three *Suktas* together makes a very significant suggestion at the end. That the tree, which is most ancient and imperishable is Brahman himself. On the basis of this conception of Sāyaṇa, *Brahman* can be symbolised as a tree and the *praṇava* is the symbol of Brahman. The four *mātrās* of *Praṇava* may correspond to the four *pādas* of *Brahman*, and the four forms were carved (not five) nor (or three) to translate *Brahman* worship into *praṇava* worship. This *praṇava* worship later took the tāntric form and subsequently the paurāṇic form; and in this way the worship of *Dāru Brahman* and *Praṇava* have been transformed into the worship of Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana. All this must be understood to constitute the basic tradition of Jagannātha worship as is current up to the modern times.

There is little wonder, therefore, that the trees which are very ancient and very large in dimension came to be venerated by people as divinities. Even today in rural India, trees such as Banyan, Vilva etc. are worshipped as gods. There seems to have been, therefore, very ancient connection between *Dāru* and god. There is also evidence of *Dāru* worship in the *Bhagavat Gītā*.[9]

It may tempt someone to trace the beginning of the worship of the *Dāru-Brahma* so vividly present in the worship of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha at Puri to the vedic concept as interpreted by Sāyaṇa. It is a fact that the priests of the Puri temple in the daily worship of the composite deity do emphasise this supposed Vedic connection.

When we come to the age of the Upaniṣads we find some reference to the description of *Puruṣa* as the creator of the universe. The *Dāru Upāsanā* was moulded gradually into image or *Puruṣa-upāsanā*. Various conceptions of *Puruṣa* as described in them are the special features of the *Upaniṣads*. The *Svetāśvetara Upaniṣad*[10] and the *Kaivalya Upaniṣad*[11] describe *Puruṣa* as one who possesses neither hands nor legs, who has no eyes but sees everything, no ears but hears all and who though unknowable knows everything. This description of *Puruṣa* serves as the basis of the peculiar form of Puruṣottama and His associates.

Valmikī mentions Jagannātha in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* wherein Rāma is described as exhorting Vibhīṣaṇa to devote himself to the worship of Jagannātha, the family deity of the Ikshvāku Vaṁśa[12] (solar dynasty). It is astonishing that there is actually a ritual, even today in the temple of Lord Jagannātha called *Vibhīṣaṇa Bandāpanā*. Scholars, however, are of opinion that the *Uttārakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the composition of a much later date and that there have been lots of interpolations in the text.[13] But, there are references to the names of the deities in the *Kiskindākāṇḍa* which may not be regarded as a later insertion.[14] The monkey lord Sugrīva, sends four groups of searchers in four directions to find Sītādevī. One of these groups is ordered to proceed to the eastern direction upto the Meru-Mountain. Sugrīva gives a graphic description of the famous places which may serve as milestones to the searchers. Pandit Vināyak Mishra finds mention in the epic of the description of various sites and shrines of the Puri Temple as well as the several deities worshipped there.[15] But, the passages (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 40, 42-61) do not expressly justify this assumption, simply because the name of Ananta (Balabhadra ?), Puruṣottama, Sudarśana (here named as an island) and the Vedi (Ratnavedi ?) are mentioned.

Tradition has associated the worship of the deity Puruṣottama with the name of Indradyumna. In the *Mahābhārata* we find mention of a legendary king named Indradyumna.[16] The king has been described there as one who performed a thousand sacrifices. It is said there that the cows brought for the sacrifices made a pond with their hooves, which was named after the king. The epic story of Indradyumna and the tank named after him, appear to have helped to develop the traditional association of king Indradyumna and Indradyumna Sarovara with Puruṣottama Jagannātha. In the *Mahābhārata* (III, 114/22ff) we find mention of *Vedī*[17] which is identified by some with Antarvedī where Lord Jagannātha is enshrined. Manamohan Ganguli and other scholars like late Pandit Sadasiva Mishra were inclind to believe that this *Vedī* of the *Mahābhārata* is the same as the Antarvedī, mentioned in the *Skanda purāṇa*, which was the place of worship of Lord Jagannātha.[18] There is another reference to *Vedī* in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II, 6, 4, 3) which runs thus:[19] "*Iyam Vediḥ Paro antaḥ prithivyā ayam yajño bhuvansya nābhiḥ. Pṛthivyāḥ pradhānabatyāḥ bhūmyāḥ paroāntaḥ paramanta parjyavasam iyam vedhiḥ nahi vedyātīrikta bhūmirasti.*" It means that this altar is the end and the last point of the Goddess Earth : this is the important part or the personification of sacrifice—yajña. This is the navel portion of the centre of the Earth. There is no earth beyond this *vedi*. One will be very much tempted to identify this *vedī* of the

Upaniṣad with the *Ratnavedī* of Jagannātha to establish the antiquity of the temple and the place ; but it is very difficult to connect this *vedī* and the *vedi*, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, with the *Ratnavedī* of Lord Jagannātha for want of sufficient materials.

It is now relevant to mention here the meanings of the word *Antarvedī* as given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Ch. I, p. 3)[20]. It refers to the place where the worshipping of god at the time of sacrifice is made. (*Yajñeṣu devayajanam-antarvedī prakīrtitaḥ*). Although, there seems to be no historical basis for identifying '*vedī*' of the *Mahābhārata* with the place of worship of Lord Jagannātha, it is probable that the *Skanda Purāṇa* referred to '*Antarvedī*' on the basis of the tradition that the temple of Jagannātha had been constructed after the performance of the sacrifice by Indradyumna.

We, however, find a reference in the *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* regarding the religion of Jagannātha which reads thus :[21]

> "*Nāradena tu samprāptaḥ sarahasyaḥ sasaṁgrahaḥ*
> *Eṣodharmo Jagannāthāt sākṣāt nārāyaṇāt nṛpaḥ*
> *Evameṣa mahāndharmaḥ sate purvanṛpotama*
> *Kathito harigītāṣu samasā-vidhi kalpitaḥ*."

Pandit Nīlakantha Dās while interpreting the verses is inclined to connect the Nārāyaṇiya story and the religion with the Jagannātha cult. According to him, "Nārāda and Nārāyaṇa story was propounded just in the *paurāṇic* way, and it is said in the same Nārāyaṇīya story itself that this religion was obtained in revelation from Jagannātha who is Nārāyaṇa in person. This was revealed to Nārada with all its mysteries and practices. It is further said that it is the religion (*Dharma*) that had been narrated briefly and systematically in the *Hari Gīta* (*the Bhagavat Gīta*). The name Jagannātha was there in the Kaliṅga Coast from the *Ṛgvedic* times along with the name of Puruṣottama. The reference to this Jagannātha, as I have said is distinctly made in Narāyaṇīya story, time after time to indicate the Supreme God." The above view of this scholar can not be easily treated as sufficient evidence for the existence of the cult of Jagannātha even in the *Mahābhārata* period, but these references give sufficient clue which throws some light on the antiquity of Jagannātha.

We may now turn to references about *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* and Jagannātha in the *Purāṇas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*,[22] which is considered as one of the oldest of the *Purāṇas* mentions *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* in two places. But, it contains no reference to the deity Jagannātha or the king Indradyumna. It mentions only the deity Vimalā in *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*. Among the later *Purāṇas*, namely *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, *Padma*, *Nārada*, *Brahma* and *Skanda*, we get more references to Jagannātha, the deity and the place of his installation.[23] But, it is only in the *Agni*, *Padma*, *Brahma* and the *Skanda Purāṇas*[24] there occur passages about the sanctity of the place, construction of the temple and the part played by Indradyumna.[25]

The *Agni Purāṇa* (in its chapter on the enshrinement of Sudarśanacakra etc. (Ch. 63), appears to mention the figures of Viṣṇu, Balabhadra and Bhadrā (Subhadrā) along with those of Sudarśana (*cakra*), Pāñcajanya (*śaṅkha*), Śrī Puṣṭi, and others. The *Nīlādrimahodaya* enumerates the seven-fold images of Puruṣottama Jagannātha as Śrī, (Puṣṭi ?), Bhū, Mādhava, Cakra, Cakrī, Avanībhṛt (Ananta-Balabhadra), Bhadrā (Subhadrā), and the close coincidence between these two texts seems to indicate that the Purāṇic author has in his mind the installation of the images in the Puri Temple when he writes this.

The story as given in the *Padma Purāṇa* in connection with the sanctity of the place of worship of Puruṣottama and the magnitude of his glory may now be noted. References to Lord Puruṣottama at the Nīlagiri are made in the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of *Padma Purāṇa* without any allusion to the story of Indradyumna. The account in the *Padma Purāṇa* runs thus :—[26]

Śatrughna, who kept guard of the sacrificial horse of Rāmacandra, came to Nīlagiri which was situated at the *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*. This place was beyond the confluence of the Gaṅgāsāgara. Śatrughna was told by one Sumati that Lord Puruṣottama was being worshipped at the sacred Nīlagiri. Sumati added—"one day a Brāhmin who came there on a pilgrimage found all the beings with four hands and asked for the reason. The villagers present, narrated a story—one day a boy named Pṛthuka ascended the hill-top and observed a wonderful temple. He entered into it and found the four-armed Hari holding the conch, the discus, the club and the lotus in His four hands. The offerings made by the gods were scattered all around. As soon as Pṛthuka picked up a little grain, he turned to a four-armed being. The other villagers followed him and they also became four-armed. Hearing of this, the Brahmin bathed in the confluence of the Gaṅgā-sāgara and visited Lord Puruṣottama at Nīlagiri. He too became four-armed." This Brāhmin was seen by Ratnagrīva, a pious king of Kāñchī, first in a dream and then in his court. An enquiry about his four arms led the Brāhmin to narrate before Ratnagrīva the story of the greatness of Puruṣottama as he had heard of it from the Śabaras. Ratnagrīva was then inspired and set out with his forces on a pilgrimage to Nīlagiri. To his despair, Nīlagiri was not visible when Ratnagrīva looked at it after a bath in the Gaṅgāsāgara confluence. In deep regret the king kept on meditating upon Hari who appeared after five days in the guise of a monk. The king fell prostrate at the feet of the monk who graciously declared that the four-armed blue Lord would be visible the following day at noon. The king waited patiently till he had the sight of Lord Puruṣottama on the Blue Mountain. He then made his way to Vaikuṇṭha."

The *Brahma Purāṇa* mentions the tradition of Jagannātha in the following way :[27] King Indradyumna arrived at *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* and made the three images of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Subhadrā and Jagannātha, which were installed in the shrine built by him. It is important to note that the *Brahma Purāṇa*, for the first time gives the number of the deities and their respective names ; it also uses the term 'Puruṣeśa' or 'Puruṣottama' to indicate the *dāru* (wood) that came floating on the sea and was dreamt of by king Indradyumna. It should be noted here that the names "Nīlamādhava," "Sanātana," 'Vaṭa Rāja' are also mentioned in the course of this story. The anecdote of Indradyumna as narrated here is almost identical with that in the *Nārada Purāṇa.* The material furnished by the *Skanda Purāṇa*, however, needs more elaborate discussion. In its *Utkal Khaṇḍa* we get the following story :[28]

At the time of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu, Brahmā enquired of Viṣṇu of the means of attainment for the salvation of all beings. Viṣṇu replied—'He himself is being worshipped as Nīlamādhava in the Blue Mountain of the holy Puruṣottama Pīṭha. The highest form of salvation on earth is to be obtained by a visit to this god. But, this frightened Yama, the god of death, because of his apprehension that he would then lose his importance. To assure him of his position, Viṣṇu declared that he would be invisible after some days from that place. The story goes further in this manner : The Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa was situated a mile to the west of the desire-yielding (*Kalpa-vṛkṣa*) tree on the 'Blue Mountain'. To the north of the Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa was the shrine of Nīlamādhaba who was being worshipped by a Śabara. By that time nobody knew about the sanctity of that holy place. Only the Devas used to worship Lord Nīlamādhaba every day. Indradyumna, a king of the solar-dynasty, standing fifth in line of succession to Brahmā, was reigning in the kingdom of Avantī in the *Satya-yuga.* He was very wise, learned and a *Vaiṣṇava* too. One day, he called a council of the learned people and enquired of them the place of Lord Viṣṇu. A *sanyāsin* replied that Lord Viṣṇu himself was visible in *perfect form* as Puruṣottama at the 'Blue Mountain' of the country of Oḍra. Emancipation of body and soul was possible through realisation of this form. At this, Indradyumna sent Vidyāpati, the brother of his family priest, as a messenger to the country of Oḍra. Coming there, Vidyāpati took refuge in a Śabara village, to the west of the 'Blue Mountain'. There, he won friendship of the Śabara Chief Viśvāvasu. Vidyāpati requested him to be kind enough to make arrangements for a sight of the Lord Nīlamādhava. He told him that Indradyumna, his Sovereign Lord, would be fasting until he returns. The Śabara

Chief, out of compassion for the king, took Vidyāpati through a narrow track and showed him the shrine of Nīlamādhava. Vidyāpati went back to the country of Avantī. In the meanwhile Lord Viṣṇu, in order to fulfil the pledge which he gave to Yamarāja, made the shrine of Nīlamādhava invisible in a heap of sand. The king had by that time, set out for Utkala with his forces accompanied with Nārada. No sooner had he reached its boundary than the king of the country communicated to him the sad news of the disappearance of Nīlamādhava. At this news, Indradyumna felt very much aggrieved. Nārada, however, assured him that the Lord would appear in the form of *Dāru* (wood). The king thus got some consolation and went to Nīlagiri for the performance of horse-sacrifice. On the closing day of the horse-sacrifice, the Lord Nīlamādhava made Himself visible to Indradyumna in a dream, and the attendants of the king at the time of his bath told him the news of a *Dāru* with four branches floating on the sea. Then, the king brought it and placed it on the *Mahāvedī* with supreme care and ceremony.

At the time of discussion with Nārada about the construction of the shrine a voice from above announced : "The Lord Himself will construct His own image, and thereafter will appear on the *Mahāvedī* which will be secretly covered for fifteen days. The old carpenter standing with his instruments will get himself confined inside the temple with its doors shut. Nobody will approach him until the construction is over. Even the sound produced by it is forbidden to hear." Thereafter, through musical instruments disturbance was created and the work was duly accomplished. At the end of 15 days, the images of four deities, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana, became manifest on the *Mahāvedī*. Again, the heavenly voice declared, 'O' king, dress these four deities with silken garments and adorn them with their own colours. Then, construct a temple of one thousand cubits high on the 'Blue Mountain' and establish the images there with due propriety. Accordingly the king worshipped the Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and the goddess Subhadrā after uttering '*Aṣṭākṣara*' (*mantra*), '*Puruṣasūkta*' and '*Devīsūkta*' respectively. He made abundant offerings of wealth according to the *Tulā Puruṣa* measure, and innumerable cattle. The trampling of the cattle created a big pit so large that it was converted into a tank filled with the conch-water. Afterwards, it was known as the 'Indradyumna-tank' (Cf. the *Mahābhārata* story mentioned above).

Indradyumna then made up his mind to begin the work of temple-building. Before the temple was finally built, he according to Nārada's advice, went to Brahmaloka to invite Brahmā for the consecration of the shrine as per the ceremonial rites. There was some delay in Brahmā's coming to consecrate the shrine ; and another king of Utkala, Gālamādhava by name, claimed in the meantime the shrine as his own. Brahmā intervened and had the temple restored to its original builder. It is evident from this elaborate description that the *Skanda Purāṇa* attempts the co-ordination of the various anecdotes of the *Mahābhārata* and the other *Purāṇas*.

In presenting this story of Lord Puruṣottama, the *Skanda Purāṇa* introduces certain novel features. Now, when the *Padma Purāṇa* refers to Puruṣottama as worshipped by the Bhils, the *Skanda Purāṇa* presents Puruṣottama as the 'Śabara Devatā' or the deity devoutly worshipped by the Śabaras under the leadership of Viśvāvasu. It introduces the term *Mahāvedī-Antarvedī* in the place of '*Vedī*' of the *Mahābhārata*. It also introduces the conception of '*Caturdhā Mūrti*' (four images) by narrating the process of installation on the *Mahāvedī* of the four deities in the temple of Puri. The idea of worshipping the three deities of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha, each with a separate mantra or hymn, occurs for the first time in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The specification of the colour and dress of the three deities is also another notable feature. Finally, the description of each deity as given here also deserves careful consideration.[29]

When we turn to other Sanskrit texts, we find references to *Puruṣottama Dhāma* and the deities of Puruṣottama, Subhadrā and Balabhadra in *Bārhaspatya-sūtram*, *Kapilasaṁhitā*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, *Kṣetramāhātmya*, *Nīlādrimahodaya*, *Puruṣottama-candrikā*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Tantrayāmala*, *Puruṣottamatatva*, *Saubhāgyamañjuṣā* etc. Excepting *Nīlādrimahodaya*, all these works describe Puruṣottama more or less in the same manner as does the author of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. These works, therefore, add nothing more substantial than the story of Puruṣottama as presented in this *Purāṇa*.[30]

In the *Nīlādrimahodaya*, however, we get a detailed account of rituals and festivals associated with the worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha.[31] After the story of the temple construction in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, mention is made of the advent of '*Saptadhā Mūrti*' or the seven images after 14 days after the beginning of the construction of the temple.[32] These seven images are Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana, Mādhava, Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. The latter three are additions to the company of the four main deities, already mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The intention of the author of *Nīlādrimahodaya* was perhaps to make the *Puruṣottama Pīṭha* known as the *Saptāvaraṇa Pīṭha* in order to bring it in accordance with the *Vaikuṇṭha Dhāma* as *Saptāvarana* in the *Tāpīnīs* (vide *Mukti-cintāmaṇi* and *Puruṣottama Tāpinī* Ch. II, p. 57).

The author of *Nīlādrimahodaya* furnishes us with interesting details regarding the respective colour and forms of the deities which we do not find in the earlier texts. While giving the iconographic features of the images of Śrī Jagannātha and others, the main image is described as sky blue in colour and with eyes round like lotus-leaf. Unlike the description given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, this text endows Jagannātha and Balabhadra with two arms (the other two being concealed). Balabhadra is referred to as *guptapāda* or with the feet concealed and with a head covered by the seven hooded serpent : his colour is said to be as white as the *Kunda* flower or the moon or the conch, and he is also said to possess of lotus-like eyes. Subhadrā is said to have hands stretched down and a body of yellow colour. Sudarśana is described as pillar shaped and *jitendriya* or the one who has controlled the senses. The rest of the other images are described as miniature figures with usual attributes.

No account of the tradition associated with Jagannātha can be regarded as complete without the consideration of various literary works in Oriya which will be noted here. The earliest work of importance of this nature is the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa, written in the fifteenth century A.D. during the reign of king Kapilendradeva. Sāralā Dāsa[33] appears to ascribe the origin of the worship of Jagannātha to that of Mādhava or Nīlamādhava, also named Śabarīnārāyaṇa by the Śabara community of the bygone days. The story begins with Vasu Śabara, (Visvāvasu), the son of Jarā Śabara, who used to worship secretly the stone image of the traditional god of his community—Mādhava. The practice of secret worship is ascribed to the command of the deity Mādhava Himself ; the god wanted to be worshipped secretly because of the Kaliyuga, and had threatened Vasu to wipe out his community if he divulged the secret to others. Sāralā Dāsa next proceeds to introduce in the story another character, Gālamādhava, the king of Kāñcī. One day, the Brahmin family-priest of the king, also named 'Vasu', told to Gālamādhava the secret worship of Nīlamādhava in the Śabara pallī. Gālamādhava sent his priest (Vasu) to find Nīlamādhava. Vasu made friends with Vasu Śabara, and was taken blind-folded to the spot where the deity was then worshipped. While he was thus led to the deity, he had skilfully managed to drop grain seeds along the way so that he could trace and reach the place afterwards. After hearing from the priest Vasu these secrets of Nīlamādhava, Gālamādhava set out on an expedition to the Śabara pallī to take possession of the deity. But, to his misfortune the deity had disappeared. The god Nīlamādhava reassured Jarā (Vasu-Śavara's father) that he would incarnate himself as Buddha in Nīlagiri. Gālamādhava was enraged at the disappearance of the deity from the spot and attacked the Śabaras with a view to extracting from them the information regarding the whereabouts of the deity. A fierce fight ensued and all the Śabaras, were killed except one. The surviving one cursed the king that his entire family would be extinct, as he was responsible for the destruction of the Śabara community. When

Gālamādhava was fighting with the last Śabara he heard a voice from above asking him to desist from so doing as he was a great devotee of the Lord. Here ends the story of Gālamādhava ; Indradyumna is then introduced to carry the story further.

Indradyumna was a devotee of Viṣṇu and was inspired by what he had heard from Jarā regarding the worship of Kṛṣṇa. After offering prayers to Yameśvara Mahādeva at Puri, he completed the construction of a temple and was anxious about the deity whose image would be installed there. Indradyumna established friendship with Jarā who told him about the existence of the half-burnt body of Śrīkṛṣṇa at the Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa. Kṛṣṇa was killed by Jarā's arrow, and while his body was being consumed in fire, a heavenly voice ordered the latter to throw the half-burnt body into the sea. This partly-burnt body of Kṛṣṇa floated down to Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa in the shape of a *Dāru*. When Indradyumna's efforts to remove the *dāru* away from Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa failed, he was advised by Śrīkṛṣṇa in a dream to send for Jarā Śabara and Vāsu Brahmin to lift the "Mahāmeru-like *dāru*" which was not a 'mere piece' of log, but the *Piṇḍa* or the very body of Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. Indradyumna followed these instructions and employed the services of Jarā and Vāsu who were able to lift the *dāru*. What is striking here is that the failure of thousands of Indradyumna's men to remove the *dāru* and the miraculous success of the joint endeavour of two persons belonging to two different cultures, namely the non-Aryan and the Aryan.

Now, Indradyumna was at a loss as to how the images could be made out of the *dāru*. So, he again sought divine grace. The Lord appeared in a dream and asked him to request, Jarā to build the images. In compliance with Indradyumna's request, Jarā entered into the temple and was joined by a queer-looking Brahmin. Both constructed out of the *Dāru*, three images of three different shapes—the tallest, the medium-sized and the smallest. When the sound of the implements used in the making of the images was no longer heard, Indradyumna became impatient and dashed inside the temple. In the flash of the lamp Indradyumna saw three images on the altar bearing three different colours—white, yellow and black.

Indradyumna enquired of the Brāhmin companion of Jarā about the identity of the images. The Brahmin said that the white image was that of Śiva, the yellow one embodied Brahmā, and the black image belonged to none but Lord Viṣṇu Himself. Sāralā Dāsa interprets these images as the symbols of *Triguṇa*—namely, *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. According to his story, Brahmā stood for Subhadrā, and this female form of the god was due to a previous curse.[34] Indradyumna was favoured with the clue of the mode of worship of the three images. It is also said by Sāralā Dāsa that Jarā's descendants would be known as *Daitās*, and those of

Vāsu as the Brahmin priests; both the groups are now associated with the Jagannātha worship in the temple.

The *Deulatolā* of Nīlāmbara Dasa offers a slightly different account of the three images.[35] He starts straight with king Indradyumna of Mālava who sent Vidyāpati to find the image of Nīlamādhava. Vidyāpati took the help of Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu, the Śabara Chief and found the deity. Indradyumna, on hearing from him, started on a military expedition to Orissa and met Viśvāvasu at Bānki in the district of Cuttack. Both became friends. Nīlamādhava disappeared but was pleased to appear in a dream to Indradyumna who had kept on fasting for twenty-one days. He exhorted upon him to get the *Dāru* of Nīlamādhava floating on the sea and instal the images to be constructed by Viśvakarmā. He further commanded not to open the doors of the temple till the completion of the work by Viśvakarmā. But, the doors were thrown open before the prescribed time at the impatience of his queen Guṇḍichā. This hasty action is considered to be the cause for the half-finished images of the three deities—Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha.

The Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas offer the following explanation regarding the imcomplete forms of the deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Once, the eight *paṭṭa mahisies* (chief queens) of Śri Kṛṣṇa were listening to his *līlā* at Brindabana as narrated by Brinda (Rohiṇi/Devaki according to other versions) in the inner apartment of the palace of Nanda. They had posted Subhadrā at the gate to guard against any male person coming in. As the narration proceeded from Brindaban *lila* to the greatness of the *gopinis*, the two brothers, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma arrived at the gate and wanted to go in, but they were prevented by Subhadrā. As the narration further continued, quite within the hearing of Subhadrā and her brother, they were all inspired by *mahābhāva* (the supreme feeling) and the eight *sātvika vikāras* (religious manifestations) appeared in their persons. Their bodily forms underwent change, the hands and feet becoming smaller and smaller and the eyes more and more expanded in divine wonder. The transformation reachedi ts climax as they heard about the greatness of Rādhā.

At this stage, when Nārada came to the spot, he found them in the mystic posture, caused by the supreme feeling with fully expanded eyes and devoid of hands and feet, Subhadrā being placed between Kṛṣṇa and Balaram. Overwhelmed at this divine revelation, Nārada fell at their feet and prayed them to grant such a vision to the people in Kaliyuga. Being pleased with his devotion they granted his prayer with a promise that they would appear in that mystic form at Nīlācala (Puri) to the people of Kaliyuga. The Pauraṇic incident is related by Kahnai Khuntia in his book, *Mahābhāvaprakāsa* (Chap III) after Sanātan Gosvāmi's *Bṛhatbhāgavatāmṛta*.

The story of the construction of the temple and the installation of the images of the three deities is given in much detail in the Deulatolā by Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa.[36] The pattern of the story is more or less similar to the above. The difference lies in the introduction of some interesting anecdotes to emphasize the intensity of the desire of Indradyumna to get the clue for finding the image of Nīlamādhava. Out of the four messengers sent by him to different directions, only Vidyāpati succeeded in getting the secret about Nīlamādhava by marrying Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu. Here, Nīlamādhava is represented as expressing his desire to go to Nīlagiri where he would be worshipped as *Dāru Brahma.* Indradyumna, who constructed the temple to fulfil the desire of Nīlamādhava, approached Brahmā requesting him to come down to the earth to consecrate the temple. Brahmā took a long time to come down and in the meanwhile the temple was covered under sand and was later renovated by king Gālamādhava, who claimed it as his own. This gave way to a severe dispute between Gālamādhava and Indradyumna. Brahmā, who was accepted as the arbiter, went to "Bhūṣaṇḍa Crow" Kalpavaṭa to know the truth. The crow's evidence went in favour of Indradyumna's claim as the constructor of the temple. When this was disbelieved, they all went to the tortoises in the Indradyumna Tank. At the sight of Indradyumna, all the tortoises hid themselves under water and told Brahmā that they were employed by Indradyumna to carry stones for the construction of the temple and became tortoises on account of pressure of work and that they were afraid of meeting Indradyumna who might re-employ them in the same work. This evidence proved conclusive, and Gālamādhava was discomfited. Brahmā consecrated the temple and helped in the performance of the sacrifice. The rest of the story is the same as given in the earlier works. After the installation of the images, Indradyumna sought from Jagannātha four boons, which were granted to him. The first was that the descendants of Viśvāvasu would be designated as *Daitas* who would decorate and do other services especially during the *Ratha Yātrā* and *Anavasara.* The second secured for the children of Lalitā and their descendants—the designation of the *Suāra* (*Śūpakāra*) or the cooks ; the third was that the descendants of Vidyāpati would be priests of Jagannātha. But, on being asked as to what he wanted for himself, Indradyumna prayed for a boon which proved a tremendous sacrifice of his own as he wanted no survivors in his dynasty, lest they should with a sense of vanity claim the temple as the work of their ancestor ; and the Lord was pleased to grant him this last boon also. Thus, Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa attempted to make Indradyumna immortal through self-sacrifice.

Jagannātha Dāsa, in his '*Dāru Brahmagīta*' presents the story of the construction of the temple as well as the images with a little variation.[37] According to him, the Pāṇḍavas desired to burn the dead-body of Śrīkṛṣṇa after his death at the hands of Jarā. Being advised by Sahadeva, they decided to take the dead body of Śrīkṛṣṇa to Svargadvāra, situated near the Nīlagiri for funeral purposes. They constructed a sandal-wood cot, placed Śrīkṛṣṇa's body on the same and reached Nīlagiri. Then, they brought sandal-wood from the Nīlasundara forest and set fire to it. But, the corpse could not be consumed by flames except the hands and feet, because he would have to appear in the shape of Buddha in Nīlācala being devoid of hands and feet. At this moment, a heavenly voice was heard directing them to throw the partly burnt body of Śrīkṛṣṇa into the sea. This *Piṇḍa* of Śrīkṛṣṇa reached the sea-shore of Puri and was seen by Vasu Śabara for the first time, who kept it near the Banyan-tree, adjacent to the Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa. The rest is as described in the other works.

From a comparative study of the stories as narrated in the various works both Sanskrit and Oriya, it is evident that the name of Indradyumna is invariably associated with the construction of the great temple at Puruṣottama Kṣetra as well as the installation of the images. This raises the question as to why almost all the works mention 'Indradyumna' and no other person, historical or legendary. This may be due to the sanctity of the name of Indradyumna because of its occurrence in sacred and authoritative Upaniṣadic Texts as well as in famous epics like the *Mahābhārata*.[38] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes Indradyumna as 'Rājarṣi.'[39] The *Chandogya Upaniṣad* refers to one *Bhāllaveya Indradyumna* as a great meditator of *Brahman-Ātman* (V. XIV, 1). The *Mahābhārata*, as stated above, presents Indradyumna as a great religious person. Probably, it was the intention of the authors of the *Purāṇas* and other works to trace out a man of deep pity who alone could succeed in evoking divine grace for constructing the images of the Lords and inaugurating their regular worship. So great was the credit that has been given to Indradyumna that one festival namely, *Indradyumnotsava*, otherwise known as '*Dīpadāna Śrāddhotsava*', has been devised to commemorate him. Indradyumna thus appears to have become a legendary figure. However, attempts have been made by scholars to identify him with some historical figures. For instance, Buckingham identifies him with the last king of the Pāla dynasty.[40] Similarly, V. A. Smith in his '*History of India*'[41] tried to identify him with one Indradyamna Pāla of the Pāla Dynasty. Fleet takes him to be Indrabala of the Śirpur inscription.[42] But, all these identifications do not get any support of authentic historical evidence; partial similarity in names cannot lead us to any definite conclusion. Moreover, in the history of Mālava or Avantī we do not get any information about Indradyumna although the Purāṇas have attributed him to the kingship of that kingdom. The explanation offered by the author of *Dāru Brahma Gītā*[43] appears to be more plausible. He says that Indradyumna is not a particular person but a hereditary title. That is why Yayāti is styled as

Indradyumna II, and Rāma Candra Deva of Bhoi dynasty was given the title Abhinava Indradyumna ; for both of them reinstalled the deities in the temple.

The mention of the anecdotes concerning the images being made of *Dāru* (wood) found floating on the sea by Sāralā Dāsa, Śiśukrṣṇa Dāsa and Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of *Skanda Purāṇa* show the eagerness of the authors of these texts to establish connection of the worship of Lord Jagannātha with the Vedic tradition concerning the *Dāru* as given by Sāyaṇa. The authors in the Oriya Literature, concerning Jagannātha, rouse the interest of the readers by identifying the *Dāru* with the half-burnt body of Kṛṣṇa with a view to establishing the uninterrupted connection of Jagannātha of Kaliyuga with Lord Kṛṣṇa of the Dvāpara Yuga and to show that Jagannātha was no other than Lord Kṛṣṇa himself. This was in line with the tradition started in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which stated that Kṛṣṇa, Jagannātha as well as Puruṣottama were one and the same. "*Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Jagannātha jāne tvām Puruṣottamaṁ.*"[43a]

Viśvāvasu is also another important figure in the tradition. It is probable that one aspect of Jagannātha was originally connected with a god of the Śabaras whom the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* recognises as the cursed sons of Viśvāmitra.[44] This aspect might have been emphasised by the traditional association of Viśvāvasu, the Śabara chief, with the images of the deities. As regards the connection of Viśvakarmā with the making of the images, it might be with a view to laying stress on the Āryan aspect of the cult of Jagannātha. Again, the story about the partial completion of the images may in some way lay down the sense of imperfection and incompleteness in the attempts of human beings to give shape and form to the *Nīrguṇa Brahma.*

The traditions associated with the temple of Jagannātha are widespread not only throughout India but also in certain parts of the world.

In 1200 A.D. a Buddhist Pilgrim named Lāmā Tārānātha[45] gave an account of a mysterious tradition regarding the construction of a Buddha image, which has some resemblance with the construction of the image of Lord Jagannātha. A certain Brāhmin named Kalyāṇa wanted to make an image of the Buddha. Accordingly, he built a temple and brought many carpenters including Viśvakarmā to make the image. The temple was to be closed for 7 days so that the construction of the image could be completed. After 5 days, Kalyāṇa's mother apprehended the death of her son inside the temple. So, she opened it before the stipulated period was over, and found there an image half made. Such a tradition is also prevalent in Orissa regarding the construction of the image of Jagannātha.

An archaeologist named L.A. Wadell, while giving an account of the Bauddha ruins of Munghyr has said that the people called the place, where the ruins of Bauddha Temples were found, *Indradyumna Gaḍa.*[46] In the history of the construction of the temple of Jagannātha there is also the mention of the name of a king named Indradyumna who is said to be the first builder of the temple. So, it is evident that the tradition associated with Jagannātha was not localised in Orissa, but, popular throughout India with certain alterations.

It is interesting to note here that the names of *Puri* and *Nīlācula* were also used in ancient Jāvā and Bāli. In Bāli, the temple where images were worshipped was called Puri. This might have been due to our cultural contact with the far off islands.[47]

The legend of Gālamādhaba discovering the temple of Jagannātha buried in the sand, is also found in Burma in a different form. In Burma there was a Buddhist shrine which was similarly hidden in sand and subsequently discovered in the long run. From the Archaeological Survey Report of Burma it is known that ancient Prome was called Śrīkṣetra, and the entire region from Rangoon to Tante was known as *Ukkala* or *Utkalapa.* This fact certainly throws light on the cultural contact between Orissa and Burma.[48] This view is supported by various scholars, both Indian and foreign.

Reverend S. Beal in his Article under the title "*Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India*" states that a priest of Yihehan (in Chile) left China by sea for the south in the year 605 A.D. and spent three years in the country called Holiṅg. This is generally equivalent to Kaliṅga country. It also seemed to be used for the country along with the coast of Pegu as well as for an island in the south seas (Vide *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 194 ff.)[49]

In the Buddhist book named "*Si-ku-Ki*" it is stated that the country of Samataṭa or Gaṅgā was located to the south-west of the Śrīkṣetra and that was closely associated with the Far-Eastern Islands (Vide *Ibid.*, Vol. LIV, p. 226). Probably, that is the old name of Burma, and the culture of Kaliṅga spread to that extent in the Eastern Islands. It is not possible to explain when and in what stage the name or the term Śrīkṣetra was imported from Orissa to that region or in some later age from that region to Orissa. Dr. N. R. Ray in his book '*Brahmiṇical Gods in Burma*'[51] has proved that the name Śrīkṣetra was imported from Orissa to Burma and the culture of Kaliṅga spread to these islands.

In the opinion of Dr. Ray, the ancient name attributed to old Prome is Śrīkṣetra, so often mentioned in the Mon-records as Śikṣet or Śrīkṣet and by the

Chinese pilgrims as *Se-li-cha-ta-lu* ; and Śrīkṣetra is the holy land of Puri on the ancient Kaliṅga Coast. He further says that the name Śrīkṣetra given to old Prome may be apocryphal, but the attribution itself is significant, however late it may be. The old name of Pegu is Ushā which is but a form of Oḍra or Orissa. It is difficult to disbelieve that Pegu was colonised from Orissa or was once dominated over by a people who had migrated from Orissa. Indeed, the classical names are but survivals of actual colonisation from the original country inhabited by the colonists themselves. Likewise the earliest colonisation of Malaya Peninsula, and Jāvā had probably been made from Kaliṅga for the Hindus of the Peninsula, and the islands were and are still known as Kliṅg. Notice should also be taken of the fact that the gold coins of the Eastern Cālukya Kings have been found in Arakan and Siam.

Not only in Burma, but also in Ceylon there are many traditions which have great resemblances with Orissan traditions. Like the car-festival at Puri, a similar festival is performed in Ceylon on the 15th day of Āṣāḍha. This is called '*Ferhera*' festival.[52]

In Arakani tradition, there is a story that the queen of Mina-fa-long wanted to build a temple and so she brought many images from outside. But, she could not bring those images from the boat to the land. A similar tradition is also found in Orissa regarding the lifting of *Dāru* in connection with the construction of the image of Jagannātha. The *Dāru* could not be lifted from the sea by the king alone, but it was easily removed with the help of a Śabara named Viśvāvasu. So, it is obvious that the legends connected with Jagannātha are not local traditions only ; they are also found in the other parts of the world with slight variations.

According to another tradition, Lord Jagannātha was originally a Sun-God, and Sun-worship was a prevalent feature in the coastal tracts of Orissa.[53] Lord Jagannātha himself is sometimes called Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. From a copper plate inscription, discovered in a village called Sumandala in the Khalikote Tāluk, it is clear that there was a king named Dharmarāja who was a devout worshipper of the Sun-God. He used the title of *Sahasraraśmipādabhakta* and granted lands to Brāhmins.

There is another instance of the Sun-worship prevailing in Orissa. Clear evidences in the Purāṇas indicate that Maga Brāhmins, who were well versed in the Sun-worship, were brought from Sākadvīpa to Orissa.[54a] The legend of Sāmba, stated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* bringing Maga Brāhmins from other states for the cure of his leprosy as presented in some Oriya Texts which prove that there is prevalence of the Sun-worship in the coastal regions of Orissa. Some historians are of opinion that this form of Sun-worship is an importation from foreign countries.

It may be argued whether the Śākas (another such foreign tribe) had settled in Coastal Orissa during the Gupta age and after. In this connection, we may cite numerous numismatic collections made in coastal Orissa which refer to the regime of Kuśānas and Murundas. A large number of Kuśāṇa coins, discovered from the Mayurbhañj, Cuttack and Puri districts and preserved in Orissa and other State Museums, have been named as Puri Kuśāṇa Coins. Due to their peculiarity in shape, devices and symbols, these coins have been attributed to the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[54]

There is one significant point which looms large throughout these various traditions, namely that the Lord Puruṣottama or Jagannātha is regarded in all the writings as a sacred deity and that the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, the sanctuary of Lord Jagannātha, as a holy place both for worship and pilgrimage. In other words, Jagannātha and Puruṣottama are descriptive epithets, one meaning 'Lord of the Universe' and the other, 'the Supreme Being' (cf. the *Bhagavadgītā* description of the Supreme Lord as Puruṣottama in canto XV).[55] The images which are worshipped today and which number four (and not three) including Sudarśana have enjoyed a continuity of traditions. It is a fact that after the lapse of every twelve years which, according to the traditional Indian computation is called a *yuga*, the images are renewed. But, every subsequent designing of the images followed exactly the previous pattern in all particulars and details, and in this way, although the wood out of which the images are built or curved is changed, the same old forms and symbols enjoy an unbroken continuity and consequently permanency. It can, therefore, be said that in a sense the worship of Lord Jagannātha in the group of four figures is the worship of the mysterious forms and symbols which the images represent throughout the ages. The wood which forms the '*Kalevara*' or the bodies of the deities is being removed but the forms and symbols are strictly preserved with utmost precision and care.

Then again, it is only a particular species of wood (such as the *Nimba*) which is being regularly used for curving the images.

There has not been any attempt at any time to curve the figures in stone or to cast them in metal. It is evident, therefore, that the intention was to give permanence to the forms and symbols only and not to the material component of the images. This system is also regarded as another tradition in addition to all others previously narrated. Various names have been given to these forms suiting the exigencies of the different periods or in accordance with the requirements of a particular popular religion prevalent at the time. But, it cannot be overlooked that the same images (forms or symbols) are the bearers of that infinite multitude of names and surnames. It may be that pre-historic ancestors of the Śabaras had one type of names for the images, the Śabaras another, and the people of the subsequent period quite different ones ; but it cannot be denied that the same kind of images, forms and symbols continued to be worshipped from the hoary past to the present day. According to some the main images of the Puri Temple have something in common with the totem worship of the aboriginal people of the locality. But, whatever connection the latter might have with the developed worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha at a very early stage, it was merged completely with the cult, in course of time.

Some scholars have attempted to recognise either Jaina or Bauddha emblems in the four symbolic images of the Jagannātha temple.[56] One scholar Late Pandit Nīlakantha Das, has suggested that not only the images and symbols but also the mode of worship and the cultural tradition centering round the religion of Jagannātha are Jaina in origin. He is perhaps of the opinion that the three main figures of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha collectively stand for the Jaina trinity concept of Samyakjñānā, Samyak-caritra and Samyak-dṛṣṭi.[57] But, he has not cited sufficient conclusive details and objective evidences in support of his suggestion. Again, the spirit of tolerance, the absence of caste distinction, the belief in *Kaivalyamukti* etc. which he mentions as reminiscent of Jaina mode of religious life cannot be regarded as exclusively Jaina features.[58] Similar traits can also be found in Buddhism and in the great synthesized way of Hinduism. Dīnakṛṣhṇa Dasa, a poet of Orissa of the 16th century, and one of the originators of the religious faith says that the type of liberation or *mukti* which Jagannātha-worship gives, is the *Kaivalya Mukti.*[59] This concept of *Kaivalya-mukti* has been taken as an additional evidence by Pandit Das in support of his view *i.e.* that Jagannātha-religion was definitely a Jaina mode of worship at its beginning. But, it is overlooked by him that Jaina religion and ethics do not believe in the sanctity of exclusiveness, and that a true Arhat must necessarily work for elevation of all the fallen and suffering souls. The spirit of exclusiveness or indifference contained in the idea of *Kaivalya* is found only in *Saṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy,[60] which believes in individual liberation and not in general liberation of the mankind. This takes away one fundamental ground underlying his contentions. He seems to confuse between the notions of *Kevala jñāna* ; *Kevali* on the one hand, and *Kaivalya-mukti* on the other.

Kevali in Jainism is different from the concept of *Kaivalya-mukti* as in *Sāṅkhya.* The apparent participation of *Puruṣa* in the world-process is bondage ; transcendent aloofness through knowledge of discrimination is the *Kaivalya* according to the *Sāṅkhya* philosophers.[61] *Kaivalya* means spirit of detachment. The exact English equivalent of *Kaivalya* is, therefore, 'Isolation', and this idea is radically different from the Jaina idea of sympathetic participation in the cause of spiritual upliftment of the fallen by an Arhat. The word *Kevala* in Jainism means perfect knowledge.[62] (*Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, Chap. I, IX). It also means the Omniscient (Ch. VI : XIII). The *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* (Śloka 21) says "*Puruṣasya darśanārthaṁ Kaivalyārthaṁ tathā prādhānasaḥ.*"[63]

Then again, much has been made out of the affix "Nātha" by Pandit Das. He suggests that Jagannātha like Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha must have been one of the Jaina saints or Tīrthaṅkaras. Such a conclusion, based upon so flimsy a ground, can hardly be accepted. In the Paurāṇic age, *Bratya Śaiva* cult or *Yoga Mārga* attained its perfection as *Nātha Dharma* or *Nāthism*. Śiva was termed Nātha by the followers of Śaivism. The word Nātha, according to Nathism, is a significant philosophic term corresponding to Brahma in *Vedānta* philosophy and Iśwara in *Sāṅkhya Yoga*. Etymologically, the word means lord or master capable of granting power, opulence, benediction, welfare, etc. Pāṇini says :

Nāthṛ nādhṛ yacnatapaisvaryāṣihṣu

Siddhānta Kaumudi, Vol. II, Chap. I, p. 67.

Archaeological excavations have brought to light a large number of stone images of the Jaina Saints in various parts of Orissa. Most of them are beautiful, and none of them resembles the wooden images of Puri. Then again, the *Dāru* or the piece of wood out of which the images are carved is called *Apuruṣaṁ* (impersonal), and Jagannātha is not only called Puruṣottama but also Apuruṣa ; never a Jina who is after all personal. The Jaina Saints are all historical or mythical persons, and there is nothing impersonal about them. It is possible that in the process of integration, the cult of Jagannātha adopted some of the rites and symbols which were in vogue in Jainism. But, that cannot prove that the cult of Jagannātha is itself Jaina or had any origin in the Jaina religious tradition.

There is no such elaborate system of worship in any Jaina shrine as is current in the temple of Jagannātha. Then again, a 'Tīrthaṁkara' is venerated or worshipped as a superman, as an enlightened soul, as an uplifter of a community ; but Lord Jagannātha is venerated as God Himself, as the Absolute Spirit, as the Lord of the universe, as the creator, preserver and destroyer, and as the ultimate goal of spiritual life. So, the concept about Him is absolutely different from that of a Jina, and it is strange that one should suggest that a religious tradition involving belief in God should have originated from a religion without a God.

Another suggestion, made by the said scholar in support of his view that Jagannātha worship was Jaina in origin, is that the reference to Kaliṅga Jina in the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela is nothing but the earliest mention of

Jagannātha worship in Jaina setting.[64] But, this is apparently so farfetched and uncritical that it cannot stand the least scrutiny.

Some others have attempted to trace the origin of Jagannātha from Buddhism which was prevalent as a dominant religion in Eastern India, embracing the part of Orissa adjacent to the shrine of Jagannātha.[65] Buddhism is also a religion without a God; although contrary to the advice of Buddha himself, the Buddhists made a god out of him. The data upon which the contention of these scholars is based may be summed up as follows[66]:

(1) In Buddhism, there is the worship of three symbols called '*Triratna*', such as Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha.

(2) The image of Jagannātha is supposed to contain a bone, commonly believed to be a bone of Lord Kṛṣṇa; but according to the advocates of this theory, a relic of Lord Buddha himself.

(3) The Bathing Festivals and the Car Festivals of Lord Jagannātha bear resemblance to the similar Buddhistic Festivals, witnessed in many Buddhistic Shrines during the time of Fa-Hian.

(4) While Hindu religion is caste-ridden, Buddhism is casteless (although not sectless). There is no caste-rigour within the temple-precincts at Puri.[66a] (But Buddha himself wished to be born in a Brāhmin family as stated in the *Lalitavistara.*)

As regards the first of these contentions it can be pointed out that the images in the temple of Jagannātha are actually four not three (The *Agni*, *Padma*, *Brahma* and *Skanda Purāṇas* bear witness to it). So, if the images stand for '*Ratnas*', then these are four *Ratnas* and not *Triratna* as in Buddhism.

As we have said before, these four figures correspond to the four *pādas* of Brahman or four *mātrās* of *praṇava* of the ancient *Upaniṣads*. If the number is to be the basis of any argument, then it seems that the *Caturdhā mūrtis* (Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana) in the temple of Lord Jagannātha are suggestive of their affinity with the Vedic, Āgamic or Upaniṣadic religion and not Buddhism or Jainism. Then again, if the number of images was actually three instead of four, that could not constitute an argument worth the name in support of the thesis that the emblems are Buddhistic. In the Hindu or Brāhmaṇical traditions, there are several groups of three namely:—*Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*; *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*; *Paśu*, *Pāśa* and *Paśupati*; *Iḍā*, *Piṅgalā* and *Susumnā*; *Jāgrata*, *Svapna* and *Suṣupti*; *Rāma*, *Lakṣmaṇa*, *Sītā*; *Kṛṣṇa*, *Balarāma* and *Subhadrā*. So, there cannot be any valid reason why the three incomplete images are to be taken as Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha or the *Triratna* of Jainism as—

(1) *Samyag-darśana or Samyag-dṛṣṭi* (the perfect vision);
(2) *Samyag-jñāna* (the perfect knowledge) and
(3) *Samyak-caritraṁ* (the perfect conduct).

Regarding the second point it can be said that apart from the mention of the common belief in the existence of a bone inside the images, the protagonists of the theory have not advanced any sound reason to connect it with a relic of the Buddha. Some of the temple ministrants are of the opinion that the sacred objects inside the Vigrahas are not bones but *tāntric-yantras* with the *śālagrāmaśilā*. Still, there is not the least certainty about the exact nature of these objects, and it will be too hazardous to take them as relics of Buddha. Moreover, in the Hindu *Dharma Sāstras*, the worship of bone is not permitted. But, wherever a Buddhistic Relic, either of Buddha himself or of his disciples could be found *stūpas* were built and the places remained continuously Buddhistic sanctuaries with the Vihāras all round the holy places. But, the temple of Lord Jagannātha does not have any such tradition, and all the *maṭhas* old and new are Hindu *maṭhas*. It is true that Hiuen-Tsang mentions five Buddhist Vihāras in the town of *Che-li-ta-lo,* identified by a few scholars with the present Puri.[67] This identification, however, is not universally accepted, and it is not at all safe to come to any conclusion on the basis of this uncertain data. The spirit of tolerance, which is advanced as an argument in favour of Buddhistic base of Jagannātha worship, is not unknown to Hindu tradition. Hindu attitude towards Buddha was not antagonistic, he was given an honoured place in the Vaiṣṇava pantheon as one of the *Avatāras*. Again, the Hindus of Puri had no objection to allowing many other religious establishments connected with such medieval saints as Kavīr, Nānak and others to function in that holy city.

It is a fact that no establishment, connected with Buddhism or Jainism, is to be found anywhere in or about the city. But, there were such institutions in other parts of Orissa, and remains found near Bhubaneśwar, Cuttack and other places, fully prove that Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇical Hinduism flourished side by side in early medieval times.

The ritual known as *Mañca-snāna* (the bathing festival of Jagannātha) is performed on the *Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā* day at Puri (full-moon day of *Jyeṣṭha*) whereas, the image of Buddha is bathed on Vaiśākhapūrṇimā according to the Buddhistic rites observed in Ceylon.[68] The rites of the Car Festival are further cited as the evidences in support of the Buddhistic origin of the deity. We are to bear in mind that there are instances of the ritualistic use of chariots in Hinduism from the Vedic and Upaniṣadic periods. When a deity is installed in a temple, it is taken out in a chariot to circumambulate the temple three times. The *Atharva Veda* refers to the descent of gods in chariots :

Ebhiragne sarathaṁ yahyaabārñ
Nānā rathaṁvā vibhavohyaśvā. Patnīvata
strimsataṃ trīmsca devānanu svadhamābaha madayasva

(O Agni, please come with all the thirty-three gods in one chariot or bring them in different chariots). *Atharva Veda*, XX, 2.XIV

As regards the fourth point, it seems to be a very weak argument. This suggests that since the Hindu religion is caste-ridden and Jainism and Buddhism are casteless, and the universalistic religion of Jagannātha does not admit of any case-barrier ; therefore, it must have been a Buddhistic or a Jaina institution.

The universality of Jagannātha-religion is most prominently noticed in the acceptance of *Mahāprasāda* by members of all castes and creeds together. The greatness of *mahāprasāda* has been loudly acclaimed in the *Purāṇas*, such as *Padma, Viṣṇu, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, Garuḍa*, and other tāntric texts like the *Brahmayāmala* and *Rudrayāmala*.[69] Rather than washing the hand after taking *Mahāprasād*, a devotee touches his head with that hand as he considers *Mahāprasāda* to be most sacred. This custom was prevalent in the Vedic Age when the sages, after performing the *Soma Yāga*, used to take *caru-annaṁ* and thereafter rub their hands over their heads instead of washing them.

This *prasāda* system is not found in any Buddhistic or Jaina institution ; and this is the most fundamental part of the Jagannātha cult of Puri. How from the sectarian Hindu faith evolved a non-sectarian universal mode of worship, may be an interesting problem for our historians and philosophers to study. But, there is no evidence to prove that integration of cults and faiths was not and is not an essential part of Hindu religion which claims to be an eternal and universal religion—the *Sanātanadharma*.

The custom of cleaning the temple and sweeping the floors of the chariots cannot be regarded as peculiarly Jaina, as has been contended by some scholars. The Jainas sweep their own paths to avoid possible killing of ants and other insects which are also regarded by them as *Jīvas* having souls. But, the Jainas are not accustomed to sweep the floors of the temples of their deities as a mark of veneration or humility. The Jaina is a godless religion, and so this age-worn custom of sweeping the floors of the chariots of the Gods by the Rājā of Puri, cannot by any stretch of imagination, be regarded as a Jaina tradition. In all the Hindu rituals cleaning of the grounds and floors, forms an essential preliminary. So, this evidence is rather peculiarly in favour of the Brāhmiṇical and Hindu tradition and not the Jaina traditions. Most of our ancient towns were built around temples. The king in most of those places not only looked upon himself as a servant (*Sevaka*) of the temple deity but also used this special status as a part of his surname. The Mahārājā of Travancore called himself Padmanābha Dāsa, and this is true of most of the ancient traditional kingdoms of the south. Sometimes, the whole kingdom of Utkala was described as the kingdom of Lord Jagannātha and the Rājā himself passed as the *Sevaka* of Jagannātha and as the Superintendent of His temple. So, the ritual of sweeping the floors of the chariots is not only a Hindu ritual but is also characteristically an Orissan one. There are several legends connected with this function of the Rājā of Puri.

Devotion (*bhakti*) or absolute self-surrender constitutes the most dominant note in the religious tradition of Jagannātha ; and before the Lord of the universe all are deemed as equals and co-sharers of the *Mahāprasāda*. It seems to be a very strange argument that since sectarian Hinduism prevails in some other parts of India, there could not evolve a non-sectarian universalistic Hindu religious tradition in one of the most ancient seats of Hindu religion and culture.

Jagannātha religion is the result of a process of evolution, and many historical and other forces might have contributed to the evolution of the most universal form of religious worship. The existence of Kalpavaṭa and Nīlacakra has again been regarded as a noticeable Jaina feature. The supporters of this view should remember that the Kalpavaṭa and Nīlacakra are to be found in almost all the Vaiṣṇava temples in India and that they are not exclusively Jaina. Thus, there seems to be no valid reason in support of the contention that the non-sectarian cult of Jagannātha cannot be a Hindu tradition simply because of this feature. The Hindu religion, beginning from the pre-historic age down to the present time, accepted, integrated and synthesized all living elements of the various sectarian religions of India. It has housed an infinite multitude of different sects and creeds, but it is not, in its historical evolutionary aspect only one of those sectarian beliefs or creeds. This is the *Jagannātha Dharma* and this is the *Sanātana Dharma*, the faith which refuses to be eclipsed, which rejuvenates itself at every stage, absorbs and integrates the basic tenets of all historical religions.

The Sabara Tradition in the Temple :

The impact of the Sabaras on the Jagannātha Temple at Puri is remarkable. The *Sevakas* called *Daitāpatis* are of the Sabara Origin and they are engaged in worship and services of the main Deities, specially at the time of the '*Navakalevara*' and the Car Festivals. The importance of the Sabara influence is felt when their ways of services and devotion are properly observed. They are supposed to have been related to the family of the Lord Jagannātha. Soon after '*Navakalevara*', starting from the burial of the old images upto the last rite, they observe the funeral ceremony like the Hindus.

The tradition records that in "*Dvāpara Yuga*" Lord Kṛṣṇa was born in the family of the 'Yadus'. The 'Yadu Vaṁśa' or Yadu family is synonymous with the '*Satvata*' family. Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, happened to be the own cousin of Vasu Sabara. Hence, Vasu Śabara was related by blood to the *Satvata* family. When Lord Kṛṣṇa left His mortal body, there was a tug of war between the *Sabaras* and the *Pāṇḍavas* on the issue of funeral and to solve the dispute, Arjuna and Jārā carried off the body of the Lord from Dvaraka to the distant sea-shore of the east and started the funeral. Possibly, that funeral ground is at present identified as the '*Kaivalya Vaikuṇṭha*' or "*Koili Vaikuṇṭha*' of Puri. The Sabaras too had come to this place and caught hold of the '*Indranīlamaṇi*' (the azure blue stone) that was favourite of the Lord's dress. This was found in the funeral place and was worshipped by the Sabaras as a token of the last sacred aspect of their Lord. Most possibly, the Sabaras constructed the Holy Image of Kṛṣṇa with the help of that azure blue-stone and the image is being worshipped from time immemorial in the name of Śrī 'Nilamādhaba' (the Blue Lord). In the meantime, the remains of the mortal body floated to and fro on the perilous Sea and gradually it assumed the shape of the sacred log (*Dāru*). Jārā Sabara, who by mistake had killed Śrī Kṛṣṇa, now searched for the body in utter despair and disillusionment and discovered it at last. He kept the body somewhere secretly and began to worship it with all tribal simplicity. His son, Visvāvasu, too continued the worshipping of the body with humble devotion. The '*Dārubrahma*' (the Divine Wood) which appeared in dream of King Indradyumna of Malava, is exactly the body of the departed Lord Kṛṣṇa. Afterwards, as legend says, the '*Dārubrahma*' or the divine wood was carved by Viśvakarmā (the divine artist who descended in disguise) into the Holy Images of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. On '*Navakalevara*' occasion when Brahman (the sacred divine) is placed inside the new images, it is presumed that possibly the azure blue-stone which was worshipped by Sabaras, might have been placed there. The Sabaras believe Jagannātha to be the descendant of Lord Kṛṣṇa. They claimed the mortal body of the Lord, declaring themselves to belong to the family of the Lord, who evidently emerged from Pravāsa Tīrtha and incidentally came upto Puri coast by crossing the *Vindhyācala*, the central range of mountains of India. They were products of the *Satvata* family being closely related to Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Thus, the *Daitāpatis* at present bury the old images on the eve of '*Navakalevara*' and perform the funeral rites in traditional manner. They are certainly the descendants of Visvāvasu and also they humanize the cult of *Navakalevara*. The memory of the past has become an organic part of the tradition today.

The memorable dark night when Jārā Sabara aimed his arrow at the lively lotus-feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, mistaking them to be a deer's ear, was believed to be, the *Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī of Āṣāḍha* (early June). The lotus Feet of the Lord hidden under the thin leaves of a herb, might have possibly appeared like the deer's ear when there was a flash of lightning. The memory of the myth even today leads to the legendary celebration of the *Navakalevara* on the fourteenth day of dark fortnight on the Āṣāḍha. In spite of the lack of historical evidence about the relationship between the Lord Jagannātha and the *Daitāpatis*, the relationship is evidently implied in myth and legends.

It is told earlier that the Puri Temple is the epitome of the synthesis of the Āryan and the Non-Āryan cultures. Yet, the speciality of the Jagannātha Temple and the Jagannātha Cult, in this synthesis, is that neither the Āryans have their traditional feeling of aristocratic self-consciousness nor the non-Āryans evince the spirit of inferiority complex. The Puri Temple (Śrī Kṣetra) is the ever-impelling symbol of equality, fraternity and progress which are obviously the noblest destination of mankind. Multifarious sects and groups have enlightened themselves by accepting the Jagannātha Cult.

As regards the process of worship in the temple, the Sabaras have got a distinct role. Just after the Bathing Festival in the fullmoon day of Jyeṣṭha, the Deities are worshipped in the secret (*Anavasara*) chamber for full two weeks. At this time, the Brāhmins do not usually worship the Deities. Rather the *Daitāpatis* of Sabara origin take up the fortnightly worship. The worship is so vividly engaging and continuous that the *Daitāpatis* do not have relaxing moods or moments. Hence for them, the time is aptly called *Anavasara* (engagement without rest). They decorate the body of the Deities with cosmetics of various kinds, oil and ornaments. The Vedic offerings are never made during this fortnight. They offer fruits to the Deities and themselves take *Prasād* there. Even it is believed that, they affectionately offer fruits to the Deities after testing them by themselves. This is called '*Samarpaṇa Kriyā*' (the process of holy offering). Here, the spirit of devotion is not formal or ritualistic ; it is rather heart to heart tribal offering to the Deities. Singing different hymns in a low key they offer everything to the Deities in typical Sabara fashion. Considering such system of offering, one easily recalls the story of the *Bhāgavāt* where the cowherd friends of Kṛṣṇa offered fruits to Him after having a taste of those fruits. At the time of *Anavasara*, the Deities are incessantly decorated in their own way by the *Daitāpatis*. It naturally indicates the Sabara's intense affection for the Deities at the time of *Anavasara* worship. The word "*Daita*" itself means the "most beloved one".

Besides, one can comprehend the remarkable influence of the Sabaras at the outset of the Car Festival. When the main Deities are taken to the respective Cars, various types of fruits are offered to them. On the Cars, the worship is never made in Vedic lines. Before the Cars are dragged by multitudes, the Deities are dressed in the manner of Sabaras, the *Peṭi* (a typical Sabara Costume) is placed in the waist of the Deities. At the time of *Pahaṇḍi* (the procession to the Cars) the *Daitāpatis* constantly sing ritualistic '*Mālaśree*' songs by tying up the *Peṭis* around their waist. The Deities move towards the Cars in north-west (*Iśāna*) direction whereas in Āryan process, the procession moves towards eastern direction. Hence, the north-west movement of the Deities towards the Cars, obviously points to the impact of the Sabara convention on the festival. When the Cars move ahead, the *Ḍāhukas* continue to dance on the Cars by singing vulgar musical extracts. The *Parṇa Sabaras* (a Section of Sabaras) have the traditional belief that such songs and wordings rendered by them might protect and safeguard the Deities on the Cars by warding off evil spirits.

Just before the Deities are taken to the Cars, the *Daitāpatis* tie up charms and talismens made up of roots and leaves in the arms of the Deities. Such talismens are supposed to protect the body according to *Tantras*. All this process is characteristically Sabara mode of worship.

The '*Mañcasnāna*' (the bathing ceremony on the Divine altar) in spite of its Vedic connotations, is out and out a Sabara process. The bathing of Deities is done exclusively with the water of confined and closed well which goes against the Vedic grain of bathing Deities with the running water of rivers or open wells. The water inside the golden well in the northern side of the temple, is kept untouched all along the year and with the help of this water the bathing is performed. The Sabaras attach sacredness and purity to and use the '*Anaḍbāha*' water for any holy bath which is stored inside thick forest unpenetrated by sunlight. In the light of this belief, here also the secret and sacred water stored inside the golden well (*Sunā-Kua*), is used in the bathing of the three Deities.

The *Daitāpatis* sit together with the Lords and take the '*Gyāntisāra*' dishes (the dishes taken by the members of the same family together). They practically safeguard and take care of the Deities every now and then. Therefore, the Vedic Āryans and non-Āryans have joined hands in worshipping the *Trinity* of this temple. Of course, only in two festivals the rights and duties of the Sabaras are duly executed with traditional decorum. As has been noticed, they do not have any privilege to participate in all other festivals of the Deities which are celebrated according to Āryan religious ethos. Thus, we notice that the complete Jagannātha Cult is a Synthesis—which synthesis may have been resulted after understandable conflict between the two principal religious ethos—the Aryan and the non-Aryan or in other words the Vedic Aryans and non-Vedic Aryans.

When the first devotee of the Lord i.e. Visvāvasu prohibited Vidyāpati from looking at the Image of *Nīlamādhava*, the root of the conflict obviously lay there. The Āryan king Indradyumna was afterwards interested to Āryanize the God *Nīlamādhava* who was in fact the Deity of the Sabaras. In this connection, the Sabaras actively protested. None can say whether any group won or lost in that conflict ; yet it is quite evident that both the races have enlightened each other's cultural way of life through exchange of ideas and outlook. Basically, the Indian culture is a true replica of the Jagannātha Culture. Various castes and creed, communities and sects, customs and traditions taken together, have become an organic living whole and have made one religion for all. The tributaries of multifarious culture in India have joined in the unity of all Indian cultures and manifested here in Jagannātha Temple. Lord Jagannātha stands as the single eternal symbol of that cultural assimilation.

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2. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, Vol. IV, Ch. X, 155, 3 *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, p. 841 (Vaidika Samsodhana Maṇḍala, Vedic Research Institute, Poona).
3. *Ibid*, p. 840.
4. *Atharva Veda paippāladasaṁhitā*, VI, 8. 7. (Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ *madhye* apuraṣaṁ Tadā rabhasva durhaṇo tena *yāti* parastaraṁ).
5. *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane, Vol. IV, pp. 692-93.
6. (a) *Ṛgveda*, X, 81. 4, pp. 563-564 (Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, Vol. VI)

   Kiṁ Svidvanaṃ ka u sa bṛkṣa āsa yāto dyāvā pṛthivī niṣtatakṣuḥ
   Manīṣi-no manasā pṛchhatedu tadyadadhyatiṣthadbhuvanāni dhārayan.

   Sāyana while giving the interpretation of this sūkta concludes saying in the last portion of this sūkta : "Kiṁ ca Īśvaraḥ Bhuvanāni dhārayan yat sthānaṁ adhyatisthat tat api pṛchata : etasya sarva-syāpyuttaraṁ Brahma sa vṛksa āsit ityādikamuttaraṁ".

   (b) X, 81, 7, p. 38. 3.
   (c) X, 114, 3, pp. 321-322.
7. *Ṛgveda* I, 182, 7, p. 183.
8. *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad Sūtra* V, Ṛg Saṁhitābhāṣya.
9. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. XV, śloka I.
10. *Svetāśvetaro Upaniṣad*, III, 19.

    Apānipādo yavano grahītā
    Pas'yatyacakṣuḥ sa sṛṇotyakarṇaḥ
    Sa vetti vedyaṁ na ca tasyasti Vettā
    Tamāhurārādhyaṁ puruṣaṁ mahāntaṁ.
11. *Kaivalya Upaniṣad*, Mantra 21.

    Apānipado haṁ acintyāsaktiḥ paśyāmya cakṣuḥ śṛṇomyakarṇa
    Ahaṁ vijānāmi viviktarūpo na cāṣti vettā mama citsadahaṁ

12. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarākāṇḍa) 108. 28.

> Kiṁ cānyadvaktu michhāmi rākṣasendra mahābalaḥ
> ārādhāya Jagannāthaṁ Ikṣvāku kuladaivataṁ

13. *History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz, Vol. I, Epic and Purāṇas, p. 493.
14. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa,* Kiṣkindā kāṇḍa, Sarga 40, Lines 41-61 Gita Press, p. 333.

> Svādūdasyottare tīre yojanāni trayodaśa
> Jātarūpaśilo nāma sumahān kanakaprabhaḥ
>
> * * * * *
>
> Sahasraśirasaṁ devamanantaṁ nīlavāsasam
> Triśiraḥ kāñcanaḥ ketustālastasya mahātmanaḥ
> Sthāpitaḥ parvatasyāgre virājeti Sa-vedikaḥ
> Pūrvasyāṁ dīśinirmāṇaṁ kṛtaṁ tat tridaśesvaraiḥ
> Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayaḥ śrīmānudayaparvataḥ
> Tasya koṭirdivaṁ spṛṣṭvā satayojanamāyata.

15. *Jhaṇkāra,* 1961, Issue Oriya monthly magazine.
16. *Mahābhārata* III, Chapter 198, Śloka I.
17. *Ibid,* III, 114, Ślokas 3, 5, 12 and 23.
18. *Jagannātha mandira in Bengali,* p. 30, *Sahakāra* Vol. XVI, Sankhyā 7. M. M. Ganguli, *Orissa and her remains,* pp. 406-407.
19. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* II, 6. 4. 3.
20. *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* Ch. I, Pt. 3.
21. *Mahābhārata* Śantiparva, Ch. 346, ślokas 10 & 11.
22. *Matsyapurāṇa,* Ch. XIII, Śloka 35. *Ibid.* Ch. XXII, Śloka 38.
23. *Viṣṇu.* I, XV, 52.
    Agni, Ch. 63.
    Padma Ch. 158, S. 1-6. Ch. 18.
    Nārada, Ch. 52, S. 41-93.
    Brahma, Ch. 48.
    Skanda, Ch. XX, Ślokas 35-36.
24. *Padma.* Pātālakhaṇḍa, Ch. 16-26.
    Brahma, Ch. 42-52.
    Skanda, Puruṣottama Māhātmya, Chs. 15-23.
25. *Agnipurāṇa,* Ch. 63.
26. *Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa,* Ch. 18 Whole.
27. *Brahmapurāṇa,* Ch. 45, ślokas. 71-76.
28. *Skandapurāṇa,* Chs. 6, 7, 9 and 15.
29. *Ibid,* Chs. 20 and 47.
30. *Bārhaspatya sūtram,* Ch. III, p. 20, Sūtra 119, p. 120.
    Kapila Saṁhitā
    Tīrtha Cintāmaṇi
    Kṣetramāhātmya
    Nīlādri Mahodaya
    Puruṣottama candrikā
    Rudrayāmala
    Tantrayāmala

(References of the above books have already been given).

31. *Nilādri Mahodaya*, Ch. VIII, XV and XXXIV.
32. *Ibid*, Ch. IV, pp. 33-35.
33. *Sāralā Mahābhārata in Oriya*, Muṣali Parva whole.
34. *Premabhaktibrahma Gitā*, Ch. V and *Rasakallola*, p. I., Prachī Edition.
35. Nilāmbara Dās, Deulatolā in Oriya.
36. Śiśukṛṣṇa Dās, Deulatolā.
37. *Dārubrahmagitā*, Jagannātha Dās.
38. *Mahābhārata*, III. Ch. 198.
39. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. XIV, I.
40. *The Encyclopedia Indica*, Vol. XI, p, 318.
41. *History of India*, p. 401, V. A. Smith.
42. *Sirpur Inscription of Indravala.*
43. *Dārubrahmagītā*. Ch. III.
43a. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Ch. XXXIII, śloka.
44. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, XXXIII, VI.
45. Tales of Tārānāth (Quoted in *Prajātantra* Special Issue) Sunday 23. 6. 1963.
46. *Prajātantra*. -do-
47. *Ibid* and *Legends of the Burmese Buddha*, Bicandet, Vol. II, p. 96.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 164.
50. *Ibid*, Vol. LIV, p. 226.
51. *Brahmiṇical Gods in Burma*. pp. 47, 57, 58, 84, 85 and 86.
52. The Ferhera Festival in Ceylon. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III. Sept. 1874. pp. 250-54.
53. *Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 68 and *Mandirera Kathā*, p. 34, by Gurudas Sircar.
54a. *Konārka*, Mr. Bishan Swarup. p. 4.
54b. Regarding the Puri Kusana coins. See R. D. Banerjee's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 109-110.
55. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. XV.
56 a) *Ancient Geography of India* by General Cunninghum, p. 585.
   b) *Bhilsa Topes*, Ch. XXVII, p. 351.
   c) M. M. Ganguli's *Orissa and her remains*, p. 406.
   d) H. K. Mahatab's *History of Orissa*, Jagannātha Dharma, pp. 505-526.
   e) *History of India* and *Eastern Architecture* by James Ferguson.
   f) *India and its Princess* by Luis Rousweet.
   g) *Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, N. N. Bose—Introduction, pp. 26-27.
   h) R. L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II.
   i) Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-3.
57. Nilakantha Das on the Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1. p. 2-3.
58. Hints on the significance and history of Jagannātha, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. I, pp. 2-3.
59. *Rasakallola*, Deena Kṛṣṇa Dās. Prachi Edition, p. 6.
60. *Origin and development of Saṁkhya system of thought* P. Chakravarty, pp. 315-316.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Tattvārthādhigama sūtra*, Ch. I, IX and Ch. VI, XIII.
63. *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, Śloka 21.
64. Hints on significance and history of Jagannāth, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 7. and Lord Jagannātha the Jeenāsana of Khāravela Inscription. Pamphlet published by the Jagannātha Temple Historical Research Society of Puri.

64a. "Jagannātha Pūjā" an article in Oriya by Pandit Binayāka Mishra, published in *Konārk*, 1st year 2nd issue, pp. 16-17.

65. H. K. Mahatab—*History of Orissa*, pp. 521-522.
R. L. Mitra—*Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 135.
Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 131-132.

66. Mahatab's—*History of Orissa* (Cult of Jagannātha) pp. 519-521.

66a. *Lalita Vistora*—Buddha wanted to be born in a Brahmin family.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. Sundarananda Vidya binoda "*Sri Khetra*" (in Bengali) p. 44.
Purāṇas such as Varāha, Brahma-vaivarta, Viṣṇu, Bhaviṣya and Tāntric works such as Brahma yāmala and Rudra Yāmala.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEMPLE AND THE ICON

The temple of Jagannātha (Plate 13) at Puri is one of the greatest religious monuments in India. It is situated near the sea-coast of Puri and the site of the temple is known as *Śrī Kṣetra* or *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* on account of its great sanctity. It is also known as *Śaṅkhakṣetra* (Plate 14) in *purāṇas.*[1] The exact geographical situation of the shrine is Lat—19°.18′17″ Long. —85°51′39″. It is connected by road with most of the important cities in India. According to tradition, the temple was originally built by Yayātikeśarī, probably Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśī dynasty on the site of the present shrine. Another tradition attributes the construction of the temple to Anaṅgabhīmadeva, grand son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga.[2] The epigraphical records, however, fully prove that it was Choḍagaṅga who built the present temple. It is possible that the work of building of the huge structure was begun by Yayāti and completed by Choḍagaṅga. But, it is strange that tradition has given full credit for the structure only to Anaṅgabhīmadeva and ignored Choḍagaṅga altogether. The conflicting traditions can be reconciled by suggesting that the contribution of Anaṅgabhīmadeva in this respect was perhaps the most important and substantial one in the final stage of the temple construction. Another suggestion is that the tradition recorded in the *Madalāpāñji* about Jagannātha temple is not about the present one at Puri, but the one erected by Anaṅgabhīmadeva at Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka[3], his capital.

The Orissan temple architecture which made a humble beginning before the 6th century A.D. had reached its perfection by the time the present temple at Puri was built. The idea of building huge temples with three sections before the Vimāna (*Jagamohan*, *Nāṭa maṇḍapa* and *Bhoga maṇḍapa*) had already gained ground in Orissa. One of the earliest temples in Orissa seems to have been the one with seven cut-pieces of stones built on the Mahendra mountain. The temple is very small and its date may be ascribed to the Gupta period.

Another early temple, found near the village of Padmapur in the Koraput District of Orissa, is known as *Nīlakaṇṭheśvara* temple. To the north-west of the village Padmapura a low hillock with an ancient miniature temple on its crest is found. The temple is built in the style of the temple on the Mahendra mountain

—a structure of nine cut-pieces of stones forming the *bāḍa* and two plain tiers forming the *Pābhāga*. The *Āmalakaśilā* seems to be a later addition. There is a small inscription on the right side of the entrance. Inside the temple a *liṅgam* of the late mediæval period is enshrined. We have already stated in the previous chapter how the name of Dharmakīrti, the well-known Buddhist monk, who flourished at about 7th or 8th century A.D.,[4] was found on the above temple. The temple is very old and may be dated back to a very early period.

The next phase of the Orissan architecture is noticed under *tri-ratha* type, that is, a projection in the centre of each face divides the walls-space into three, which gives room for a large niche and two smaller flanking niches.[5] The niches are generally occupied by figures of the *Parivāra Devatās*. The small panels which frame the niches contain masterpieces in miniature and decorative carvings. The example of this may be found in Mukhaliṅgam as well as in Bhuvaneśvara temples. As regards the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam, even though it does not contain any inscription to fix its date, its architectural style places it in between the Mukhaliṅgeśvara and Mukteśvara temples, the dates of which have already been fixed.[6] The Mukteśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara is a symbol of the beginning of the fully developed form of Orissan architecture.

Gradually from *tri-ratha* style the architectural style of Orissa developed into a *pañcaratha* style, of which the temple of Jagannātha is the finest expression, and here the perfection of this style is visible in all its aspects The *pañcaratha* style consists of two *Anurathas*, two *Koṇakas* and one *Rāhā*. The idea of constructing a temple is to install a deity in it, and to offer the deity all comforts—divine as well as royal. This is in the way of extending him all facilities to live in a palace-like building with pomp and grandeur. He is to be regarded as a Royal Personage and therefore the deity is to be provided with (a) an audience hall (*Jagamohan*), (b) a dancing Hall (*Nāṭa-maṇḍapa*) and (c) a dining hall (*Bhoga-maṇḍapa*[7]). Besides, he is to be provided with horses, elephants, gold ornaments, silken clothes and a lofty abode (*Vimāna*) for his residence. All these adjuncts are to be found in the temple of Jagannātha. We have said that architecturally the *pañcaratha* temple had already developed and perfected itself in Orissa. When the present temple at Puri was built, it had its models both at Bhubaneśvara and Mukhaliṅgam. The great temple of Liṅgarāja must have provided a model to the builders of Puri temple. But, the temple of Jagannātha has some advanced features of architecture which cannot be found in the Liṅgarāja temple.

The Jagannātha temple is erected on a highly raised platform whereas the Liṅgarāja temple is of much lesser height. In the Liṅgarāja temple the niches on the outer walls which were converted into miniature shrines in the Gaṅga period did not exist originally. At first there were only the *Rekha Deula* and *Jagamohana*, the *Nāṭa-maṇḍapa* and the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* being added to them during the Gaṅga period. But the Jagannātha temple at Puri was perhaps originally conceived with three chambers as well as the miniature shrines on the three outer sides of the Deula for placing the *Pārśva Devatās*.

Thus, the Jagannātha temple is a *pañcaratha* one with well-developed *Pagais*. The *Gajasiṁha* carved in the recesses of the *Pagas*, the *Jhampasiṁha* or the jumping lions are also to be found in their proper places. The *bāḍa* has all its subdivisions described in the cannons of Orissan architecture—such as *Pāda*, *Kumbha*, *Paṭa*, *Kaṇi* and *Vasanta*.[8] The *Bandhanā* and *Jaṁghā* are also found in their proper places. In other words, it is a perfect *pañcaratha* temple which developed into a *Nāgara-Rekha* temple. The *Vimāna* or the apsidal structure consists of several sections superimposed one over the other tapering to the top where the great *Āmalakaśilā* and *Kalasa* are placed. The purpose of the *Āmalakaśilā* is obvious. It is meant to keep the structure properly centred or balanced. The huge lions and other deities which occur below the *Āmalakaśilā* serve as the support in order that the *Āmalakasilā* will remain in its proper position. Among the existing temples in Orissa, the temple of Jagannātha is the highest (214 ft. 8 inches from the road level).[9]

The reliefs of the Jagannātha temple are not so magnificient and artistic like those of the Lṅgarāja and the Koṇārka temples. But a few can definitely be compared with other beautiful Orissan sculptures. The *Dikpāla* figures of *Varuṇa* and *Vāyu* which have lately been recovered from beneath the heavy *Cūnam* plaster applied to the *vimāna* (Deula) in comparatively recent times are fine pieces of Orissan sculptures. To save the temple from the effect of the salt-laden sea-air, a thick plaster was applied so that all the details of the sculptures remained hidden under it. Nevertheless, in the porch, several panels of interesting sculptures are to be noticed.

The temple has four gates and two very big concentric walls (*Prākāras* or *Āvaraṇas*) and thus is a *Dvi-āvaraṇa* shrine. The Śrīraṅgam temple of the south, another famous *Vaiṣṇava* shrine is a *saptāvaraṇa* one. The outer wall of the Jagannātha temple is known as *Meghanāda prācīr* (665 ft. by 640 ft.) and the inner one as *Kūrma Bedhā* (420 ft. by 315 ft.)[10] The outer wall is not uniformly high, its height varying from 20 ft. to 24 ft. It has serrated battlement on its top. It is interesting to note that in the earlier temples in Orissa we get only one or two gates. In the Koṇārka temple there are three gates. But, in the temple of Jagannātha there are four gates both in outer and inner walls. The significance of having four gates may be explained in the following way. The lord Jagannātha being the monarch, is supposed to live in His imperial abode which is necessarily a fort consisting of four gates in its four sides. The main entrance is called *Siṁhadvāra* or the 'Lion gate' which is the symbol of strength. According to the ancient Indian practice of circumambulation (*Pradakṣina*), the sacred object should be on the right side of the circumambulator and thus the process of going round the temple is from east, south, west and north.

Tha southern gate is the next important one where the symbol of a horse showing the military prowess of the king is placed. The western gate is called *Vyāghradvāra* or the 'tiger gate' which signifies energy and the northern one is called *Hasti-dvāra* or the elephant gate which indicates prosperity. But according to local tradition the four gates represent *Dharma* (Lion), *Artha* (elephant), *Kāma* (Horse) and *Mokṣa* (tiger). According to a different tradition the gates at different directions signify (1) *Dharma* (east), *Jñāna* (south), *Vairāgya* (west) and *aiśvarya* (north). Worshipping of gates also forms a part of the daily ritaulistic services of the temple. The priests do offer *Puṣpāñjali* saying : *Dharmāya svāhā*, *Jñānāya svāhā Vairāgya svāhā*. *Aiśvaryāya svāhā* to the four gates.

The deity Jagannātha as the supreme Lord of the universe is the giver of the "*Caturvarga*" to devotees. So, through four gates the Lord distributes these four *vargas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*).

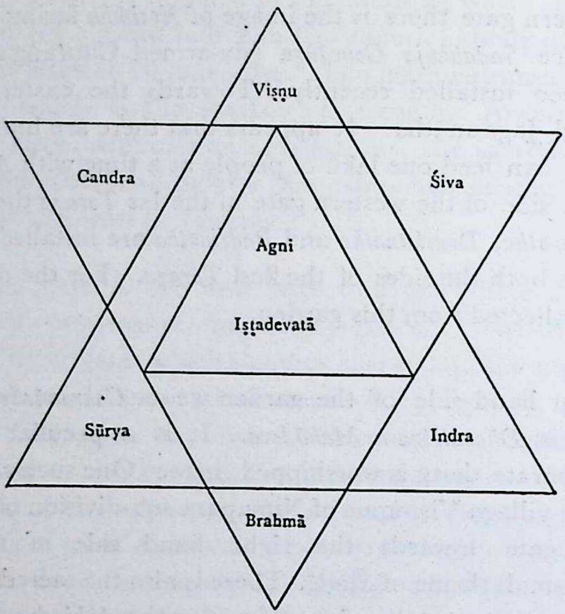
We have no historical evidence at our disposal to prove when the outer and inner compounds of this temple were constructed. But, from the temple chronicle (*Mādalāpāñji*) and local tradition, we know that these were built not earlier than the 15th century.[11] None of the temples built before the 11th century contains four gates like the temple of Jagannātha. So, it is clear that the architectural system of a religious institution was not followed in this case. The loftiness of walls proves that the temple had actually served the purpose of a fort. This is corroborated by the fact that at the time of the Mohammedan invasion the civilians as well as soldiers took shelter inside the compound when certain portions of it were damaged.[11a] It is noticed that all the gates are beautifully ornamented, and *Navagraha* reliefs are carved on their architraves. In almost all the gates there are small images of *Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hanumāna, Durgā, Nṛsiṁha*. The wells were also dug in four corners of the temple. When we enter into the temple through the main gate (*Siṁhadvāra*) we come across the beautiful *Aruṇa stambha* which was brought here from Koṇārka by the Marahattās.[12] In the 1st *toraṇa* of the *Siṁhadvāra* at the right hand side there are the images of *Patitupāvana, Hanumāna, Gaṇeśa, Kāśi-Viśvanātha* and *Nṛsiṁha*. After entering into the outer enclosure through the *Siṁhadvāra*, one gets into the 2nd *Prākāra* climbing 22 steps called *Bāisipāhāca*.

At the southern gate there is the image of *Nṛsiṁha* facing north. If we go a little further we face *Ṣaḍabhuja Gourāṅga* (six-armed Gaurāṅga) in a small shrine. This image has been installed recently. Towards the eastern direction there is the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha. It appears that there are hundreds of hearths in the kitchen and it can feed one lakh of people at a time with *Mahāprasāda* cooked in it. At the right side of the western gate in the 1st *Toraṇa* the deities, *Rameśvara, Mahādeva, Śrī Jagannātha, Dvarkānātha* and *Badrinātha* are installed. A flower garden has been put up on both the sides of the 2nd *Toraṇa.* For the daily worship of the deities flowers are collected from this garden.

At the right hand side of the garden we see *Cakranārāyaṇa* and *Siddheśvara,* and to the left there is *Dhavaleśvara Mahādeva.* It is a peculiar feature in Orissa that *cakra* as a separate deity is worshipped here. One such *cakra* image is found (*cakranārāyaṇa*) at the village Viṣṇupur of Nimapara sub-division of the Puri district. In the northern gate towards the right hand side of the foot of the 1st *Toraṇa* there is a small shrine of *Śītalā.* There is also the sacred "*Sunā-Kuaṅ*" from which 108 pots of water are taken for performing the *Abhiṣeka* of Lord Jagannātha during the *Snāna Yātrā.* At a little distance from the 2nd *Toraṇa* there stands a banyan tree, and on a raised platform there is the famous *Koeli Vaikuṇṭha* or *Kaivalya Vaikuṇṭha.* It is said that the deity *Nīlamādhava* was residing there.

Now the inner *prākāra* (wall), the *Kūrma Veḍhā,* starts. In this *prākāra* the *Āvaraṇa devatās* (deities surrounding the main deity) have been installed. Towards the eastern side there is a covered path leading to the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* from the kitchen through which the cooks (*Suāras* or *Sūpakāras*) bring *bhoga* to the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa.* There are three doors in this maṇḍapa and in each door (gate) there are *Navagraha* sculptures. At the south east of the covered path there is the shrine of the *Agnīśvara Mahādeva.* This deity is supposed to guard and supervise the kitchen. At the eastern and southern side we find *Satyanārāyaṇa, Vaṭagopāla, Sarvamaṅgalā, Vālamukunda, Vaṭabihāri-Jagannātha, Sveta Gaṇeśa, Satyabhāmā* and *Kalpavaṭa* (tree).

It would be interesting to note here that the process of cooking done in the kitchen (Plate 15) has some peculiarities. In the same oven nine earthen pots are placed and cooking is done simultaneously (Plate No. 16). According to tāntric texts[13] the number nine and multiplication of nine constitute the glorious features of the *Mahāprasāda.* The cooked rice prepared in any sort of kitchen cannot be deemed as *Mahāprasāda. The Vaiṣṇavāgni* formula is applied and 9 earthen pots are placed on the fire. The diagram of this *Vaiṣṇavāgni* is given below.[14] The cooking is started just after the *Vaiṣṇavāgni homa.*



The six deities are the *Āvaraṇa devatās* of *Agni.* The oven is lighted according to the *Vaiṣṇavāgni* rites. Here *Lakṣmī* is imagined as *ṛtumatī* and *Nārāyaṇa* is imagined as having been united with her. By this the fire is generated and with this fire the cooking is performed.

As per the nine divisions of the above diagram nine earthen pots are placed on an oven having nine mouths. When all the procedures are completed then the cooked rice etc. are taken to the deities to be offered as *bhogam* (Plate 17). This *bhogam,* after being offered to *Jagannātha,* is also offered to *Vimalā,* when *bhogam* (prasād) is automatically transformed into *Mahāprasāda* fit to be distributed among all. This system is *tāntric* in nature and is unique in character. Here the three *Brahmas,* namely—*Anna brahma, Dāru brahma* and *Nāma brahma,* are united.

In front of the southern side of the main temple stands the structure called *Muktimaṇḍapa.* It has sixteen pillars. In this *maṇḍapa* the Sannyāsis of Śaṁkara maṭha and sixteen pandits belonging to the sixteen śāsanas established by the kings of Orissa, are allowed to sit and take part in learned discourses[15]. Any dispute arising out of religious matters with regard to worship is referred to this council of learned men, and their verdict is final. A little further from this *Muktimaṇḍapa* (which is also known as *Brahmāsana*), there is *Rohinikuṇḍa* with the image of *Sudarśana cakra* and *Bhuṣuṇḍi kāka* (crow). Close to the *Muktimaṇḍapa* there is the shrine of *Nṛsiṁha* who according to tradition is the presiding deity of the Jagannātha temple and this *Nṛsiṁha* temple is regarded as the earliest temple in the compound of the temple of Jagannātha.

Next what attracts our notice is the shrine of *Vimalā.* According to the tāntric tradition she is *Bhairavī*, the consort of Jagannātha who is also regarded as Bhairava (*Vimalā bhairavi yatra Jagannāthastubharivaḥ*[16]). After this the temple of *Bhuvaneśvarī* is situated and in between the temples of *Vimalā* and *Bhuvaneśvarī* there are small shrines containing the images *Veṇumādhava, Rāma, Sākṣigopāla* and *Bhaṇḍagaṇeśa*. According to tradition, this *Bhaṇḍaganeśa* was brought from Kanchi by Purusottama Deva after he conquered it.

The next important shrine which comes to the notice of the pilgrims is the shrine of *Lakṣmī.* We find beautiful carvings on this temple. Probably this is the temple which was constructed by Choḍagaṅga along with the main temple. In between the temples of *Bhuvaneśvarī* and *Lakṣmī* there is a small shrine with the image of *Nīlamādhava.* Here the wooden image of Jagannātha is also placed inside just to show that this *Nīlamādhava* has been transformed into this wooden image. To the left of the *Lakṣmī* temple there are *Navagraha* sculptures worshipped daily by the *paṇḍās.* Next we get the *Sūrya mandir* (the Sun temple) and to the north of this temple there are shrines of *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, Dadhivāmana, Rāma Sītā, Pātāleśvara,* etc. Then comes the famous *Ānandabazāra* where the *Mahāprasāda* is sold daily to all.

It is now necessary to take note of the sculptural wealth of the temple along with its three sections. The *Bhogamaṇḍapa,* like the *Vimāna*, is also a *pañcaratha piḍha-dewla.* Its *anuraha-pāgas* are not of a superior type. It is made of yellowish sand-stone rendered red by ochre painting. The chlorite figures, according to M. M. Ganguli, contained in the niches of the *baraṇḍi* (upper jangha according to N. K. Bose) are very significant as they depict various mythological scenes. Mention may be made of the following : *Dola yātrā* festival, in the niches of the upper *baraṇḍi* ; *Śiva* on a bull, *Śrīkṛṣṇa* with flute, the grazing of the cows, etc. The twelve *yātrās* of the King have been depicted in various poses of this structure. These *yātrās* are also called *Kautuka yātrās* and generally attract the attention of the visitors. Just like the Lord the King of Orissa is shown in a variety of poses, taking part in various festivals.

The scene of *Kṛṣṇalīlā* from his childhood upto the prime of his youth has been depicted on the *Bhogamaṇḍapa.* Besides these there are lots of erotic figures carved on this structure. Inside the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* no paintings are to be seen. What is peculiar here is that all the *Dikpāla* (the guardian deities of ten directions) images are carved along with their *vāhanas* and *śaktis*. The *Śaktis* are placed above the *Dikpālas*. In the temples of *Gaṅgesvara* and *Anantavāsudeva* at Bhubaneśvara the *Śaktis* of *Dikpālas* are also placed above them.

Next comes the *Nāṭamaṇḍapa*. At the eastern side of it there is the famous *Garuḍa* pillar placed inside and from this position a front view may be taken of the main deities. Standing near the *Garuḍa* pillar devotees offer prayer to Jagannātha and other deities. It is said that inside this pillar there is the famous *Samantakamani*. That is why devotees of Jagannātha lean upon their chests on the pillar thinking that their diseases would be cured. When Garuḍa is bathed, people use the water for their own bathing purposes. This water is considered to be not only pure but also medicinal conducive to the cure of diseases. These convention and belief are still uppermost in the minds of the pilgrims. In this *Nāṭamaṇḍapa* Devadāsīs (Dancing girls of the temple) used to dance in ancient times, but now they are asked to perform dancing in the *Jagamohana*. Behind the *Garuḍa* pillar on the walls of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* there are interesting sculptures which generally attract the attention of the visitors to the temple. On one side of the wall there are sculptures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (Plates No. 18 and 19). The peculiar feature is that Jagannātha is meant for being identified with the Buddha. The intention of the sculptor perhaps is to show that Jagannātha and the Buddha are one and the same, and the Lord incarnated Himself as the Buddha. Most probably the sculpture is of recent origin and it carries the influence of the famous pañcasakhās who declare in their texts that Jagannātha at Nīḷācala in the Kaliyuga will be born as the Buddha. But in the earlier purāṇas, Kāvyas and in literature on rituals Jagannātha has never been described as an incarnation. "He is the combination of all the incarnations", so says Acutānanda Dās, one of the Pañcasakhās[17] in his "*Śunya Samhitā*". In the Brahmanical literature He has been described nowhere as an incarnation of the Buddha. Of course we have stated earlier that the famous king and poet Indrabhuti addressed Lord Jagannātha as the Buddha himself[18]. Enquiry from temple authorities reveals that this idea of having the image of Jagannātha in place of the Buddha is a recent one.

On the other side of the walls there is the scene of Kañci-Kaveri expedition of King Puruṣottama Deva. Balabhadra and Jagannātha are seen riding on two black and white horses respectively, whereas Māṇikī Gopāluṇī (milk woman) is seen standing before the horses. According to tradition this Māṇikī Gopāluṇī gave curd to Balabhadra and Jagannātha when they were setting out in disguise, for Kañcī to help King Puruṣottama Deva in the battle against the King of Kanci. There are various modern paintings inside the *Nāṭamandir*. The picture of Śaṁkarācārya offering obeisance to God Nṛsimha is to be seen there.

Jagamohana is the main portico before the *garbhagṛha* or *maṇikotā* (inner most apartment). Generally the devotees have *darśana* (visit) of the deities from here. In the outer portions of this structure no sculptures worth-mentioning are found. At the southern gate of Jagamohana there are two figures of *Brahmā* (Plate 20) and four armed Śiva (Plate 21) nicely carved. The figure of *Brahmā* has four heads and carries a *kamandalu* in hand.

Next is *garbhagṛha* or *Maṇikoṭā*. This is the main part of the temple called *vimāna* where the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, as well as the emblem Sudarśana are installed on a raised platform known as the *Ratnavedi* or *Mahāvedī*[19] (16 ft. long, 13 ft. wide and 4 ft. high). According to tradition there are one lakh of śāḷagrāma-stones deposited inside this *Ratnavedī*. At the entrance to the *maṇikoṭā* there are two Dvārapāḷas known as Jaya and Vijaya. Sufficient space has been left in front of and behind the Ratnavedī for the devotees to perform circumambulation. The *Bhogas* are placed by the side of the Ratnavedī.

The *Vimāna*, as we have said is a *pañcaratha dewla* with the *Koṇaka pāga* showing nine *bhūmīs*. According to M. M. Ganguli, the recess between the *Koṇāka* and *anuratha pagas* is wholly plain except at its base where it shows a *rekha* representation. He further says, "The *bāḍa* has the usual five parts, the *Jaṅghās* show the characteristic five elements, the *bārāṇḍi* contains *piḍa* representations, the *bandhanā* consists of three elements as usual, the upper *bārāṇḍi* is similar to the lower one".[20]

The faces of the *vimāna* are carved with figures of the Hindu pantheon. The figure of Rāhu is noticed at the top of the *rāhapāga*, and the figures of three main deities are also seen below the same. About 30 to 40 ft. below there is the figure of Hanumān, holding the branch of a tree. Other figures like *Kāliya damana*, *Nārāyaṇa* on the shoulder of *Garuḍa*, Lion over a crouchant, elephant (*Gajasiṁha*), *Nṛsiṁha* with *Lakṣmī* flanked by two *dvārapālas* etc. are seen on the *vimāna*. Above the *vimāna* the famous *Nīlacakra* is placed. It is said that it is made of *Aṣṭadhātu* (eight different metals).

The temple has been conceived as a yogic puruṣa. As there are eightfold paths of *yoga* and a *yogī* is to pass through these eight stages, so also the temple has eight *aṅgas* (Aṣṭāṅga) such as (from below to the top) *pābhāga, bandhana, jaṅghā, gaṇḍi, garbha, beki, khapuri* and *kalaśa*.

The images that are worshipped inside the vimāna are of two kinds : *Arcā* images and *Tattva* images ; but in the temple the carved images are of three kinds :

(1) *Dhyāna mūrtis* according to Śāstras,

(2) *Āvaraṇa tattva* mūrti according to śilpa sāstras,

(3) Decorative images.

Nārāyaṇa, *Ananta*, *Puruṣottama*, *Vimalā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Bhuvaneśvarī* come under the 1st category; *Kṣetrapāla*, *Tapasvimahāvīra*, *Vaikunṭheśvara*, *Pātāleśvara* etc. come under the 2nd category; whereas *Gopeśvara*, *Gaṅgā-yamunā*, *Jayavijaya*, Rāmābhiṣeka Yoganārāyaṇa come under the 3rd category. There are three Pārśvadevatās (side deities) on the outer sides round the vimāna, on the north, south and west; they are Vāmana, Varāha and Nṛsiṁha. The pārśvadevatās are each placed inside a two-storied *piḍa dewla* built on the three sides.

The images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā (Plate 21A) are not made according to the *dhyānas* and to the iconographic texts. The traditional as well as the philosophical aspects of Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha show that "he is visible and at the same time invisible; the *prakṛti* also conjoins with him along with the Puruṣa"[21]. (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Ch. VI, IV,). This is also supported by the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*[22].

According to the Tāntric tradition, the devotee with a view to realising the significance of the form of Paramātmā (Universal soul) conceives Him as though devoid of arms, legs, eyes, etc. like ordinary worldly beings. He can visualise everything with supermundane movements. By this a noble attempt has been made here (in the temple of Jagannātha) to give a peculiar symbolic form to the Infinite[23].

Let us now discuss about the materials out of which these images are made. The images are actually made out of *Nimba* wood. Wooden images are not commonly used for worship in shrines. But according to the *Bhavisya Purāṇa*[24], *Nimba* wood is considered to be one of the best and most auspicious materials for making images of Viṣṇu.

The same purāṇa also says that wood of different trees will be used in making images by the different castes. *Suradāru*, *Śamī*, *Madhuka*, *Candana* etc. are auspicious for the Brahmins. *Arisṭa khadira*, *Tinduka Asvatha* etc. are auspicious for the Kṣetriyas. *Khadira* and *Candana* are auspicious for Vaiśyas, *Kesara*, *Sarjaka*, *Āmra*, *Sāla* are auspicious for Śūdras, where as *Nimba*, *Sriparna*, *Paṇasa*, *Arjuna* etc. are auspicious for all the castes. So the image of Jagannātha and His associates have been carved with *Nimba* wood as He is worshipped by all castes[25]. Further, the *Vaikhanasāgama* says that wood is of three types: male, female and neuter. *Nimba* belongs to the male category and as such it is considered as the strongest and the best wood material for construction of *Viṣṇu* images.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* while speaking about the making of images assigns importance to *Dāru*. The text lays down that by worshipping the wooden *vigrahas*, the worshipper gets all the four things : *Ayu* (longevity), *Śri* (wealth), *Vala* (strength), *Jaya* (Victory) ; whereas men get only one or two things by worshipping images made of other materials[26], namely, *mani* (jewells) and stones. The earlier kings of Orissa were influenced by this and continued to have the images made out of *Nimba* wood. Other texts like *Vaikhānasāgama*, *Kāśyapaśilpa*, *Viṣṇu saṁhitā*[27] etc. also prescribe for the carvings of the wooden images[28].

Again the images are divided into three categories by *śilpaśāstras*, they are— *Cala* (movable), *Acala* (immovable) and *calācala* (movable-immovable) and also sthānakam, āsanam and sayanam i.e. standing, sitting and sleeping[29]. Generally the installed images are not taken out of the shrine. Only *Arcā* images or *Utsava* or *Kautukaberas* are taken out for ceremonial purposes as their representatives. But in the case of Jagannātha and his associates the *mūlavigrahas* are taken out of the *Ratnavedī* twice in a year[30]—once during the *Ratha yātrā* festival and another time during the *Snāna yātrā*. During *Snāna yātrā*, *Abhiṣeka* of these images is performed.

It is evident, therefore, that these images are *Calācala* images. Further the wooden images without paintings and other decorations are not fit for worship. The colouring is made according to the *Śilpaśāstras* and *Agamas*.[30a].

According to *Nilādri Mahodaya* the image of Jagannātha is based on "*cakrayantra*"[31]. The wood used for making the image should be divided into two parts having 14 *bhāgas* above and 18 *bhāgas* below. The central portion (jāmya bhāga) should be of 10 1/2 *Pavas*. Each of the lotus feet should be of 15 10/16 *Pavas*. The remaining 14 *bhāgas* added to 50 12/16 *Pavas*, make 84 *Pavas* in height. (Jagannātha is 84 *Pavas* in height). Both the arms are divided into 12 *bhāgas* (parts) each and the portion of the arm which is concealed is of 28 *Pavas*. The side arms which are visible should be of 8 *Pavas*. The portion of the nose should be made 1/10 of the side arms i.e. 8/10 *Pavas*. The lower portion of the nose should be of 12 *Pavas*. The distance between the lower portion of the nose and the head, should be 25 12/16 *Pavas*. The circumference of the face should be of 30 *Pavas*. 4 *Pavas* should be set apart at the heart portion to install *Brahma*. The lower portions should be made beautiful.

The significance of prescribing the *Cakrayantra* for Jagannātha is evident from the colour of *cakra* as well as that of the deity, and the name *Cakradharī* given to Jagannātha. The image of Balabhadra is based on *Śaṅkhayantra*[32]. This is prescribed for Balabhadra as the colour of the *Śaṅkha* (conchshell) is white. So the sameness of the colour of the *Yantra* as well as of the deity is proved thereby. The wood for making this image should be of 85 *Pavas* (Balabhadra is 85 *Pavas* in height) in height which should also be divided into 32 *bhāgas* (parts). The area of the face is of 31 *Pavas* and the upper portion of the face is 5 *Pavas*. The shoulders are of 11 *Pavas* and the heart is 9 *Pavas* in measurement. The central portion meant for *Brahma*, is 10 1/2 *Pavas*. The lower portion of it is of 18 *Pavas*. Each arm should be of 24 *Pavas*. The two *phālas* (sections) shining above the shoulder are each of two *Pavas*. The nose is of 1/2 *Pavas*. The length of the two arms, both the sides and the area of the face are of 21 *Pavas* each. The portion above the nose is of 18 *Pavas* and portion below the nose is of 8 *Pavas*. The forehead is 1 *Pava* and the head portion is of 5 *Pavas*. Subhadrā's image is based on *Padmayantra*[33] and the significance is that the colour of Subhadrā is the same as that of *Padma* (lotus). Sometimes she is considered as Lakṣmī and *Padma* is the seat of Lakṣmī. The length of the wood is of 52 *Pavas* and the area of the face is of 15 *Pavas*. The face is 17 *Pavas*. The central portion is of 12 *Pavas*. Both the lotus feet which are concealed are of 17 *Pavas*. Each arm (which is concealed) is of 15 *Pavas* but both of the arms are joined along with the hip. Thus the side-arms are of 17 *Pavas* ; both of these arms are raised upwards. The Sudarśana is based on the *Gadāyantra*.[34] The length of Sudarśana is 84 *Pavas* and the circumference is 21 *Pavas* (one *Pava* is equal to one inch in measurement). But it is very difficult to ascertain whether these measurements actually tally with the images. For want of opportunity we have been unable to measure them. But as a *Pava* is equal to one inch, the detail given in the texts may come out true. The eyes of Lord Jagannātha have aroused much interest. For, they are conspicuously round (cakādolā) whereas the eyes of Balabhadra and Subhadra are not round. The explanation of this lies in the fact that when iconographers (of the 12th century) made the images of the deities, particularly that of Lord Jagannātha they were guided by the-then epigraphical records which describe the eyes of the Lord as round like the sun and the moon. (cf. chapter II, verse quoted on page 54).

There are many figures of deities in the temple premises ; we shall only give the iconographic features of some of the important ones. Let us take up the figure of the Goddess Vimalā first (Plate No. 22). This image is made of stone. It is in the standing posture and is four-armed. The upper right hand holds *Akṣamālā* (rosary) and lower right is shown in the *varada* pose. The upper left hand holds a beautiful mermaid (*Matsyakanyā*). The lower left holds a *Pānapātra* (drinking vessel). Vimalā is three eyed, and is wearing *Kirita* (crown) and other ornaments. There are two female attendants, naked and fierce-looking, on either side.

The next important goddess is the four-armed *Bhuvaneśvarī* (Plate No. 23) seated on a white lotus in *Padmāsana* pose. She holds *aṅkuśa* in the upper-right hand, the lower right being shown in *varada* pose. She holds a *nāgapāśa* in the upper left, the lower one being in *abhaya mudrā*. She is also three-eyed and has the crescent moon in her crest.

The four-armed goddess *Lakṣmī* (Plate No. 24) is seated on a white lotus in the *padmāsana* posture, holding lotuses in her two upper hands, the lower hands being in the *Varada* and *abhaya* poses. A few other images of *Lakṣmī* are shown holding *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in their upper hands. These types of images are found elsewhere.

It is interesting to note the iconography of some of the Mādhava images discovered in different parts of Orissa. In the Puri temple we have a Mādhava image (Plate No. 25) which according to tradition, is the original image worshipped by Viśvāvasu, and seen for the first time by Vidyāpati, the priest of the king Indradyumna. The four-armed image is in standing posture, the upper hands holding *cakra* and *śaṅkha* with a gadā in the lower hand marked with a lotus sign in the palm. The peculiarity of this image is that it is not attended by any *śakti* or other attendants. The figure is, however, decorated with the usual ornaments. There are several Nīḷa-Mādhava or Mādhava images enshrined in temples at different places. Some of them are regarded older than the Mādhava images of the Purī temple. The placing of four emblems of Viṣṇu are not uniform in them, and it is likely that the variance in their features indicates that some of them at least conform to different *Vyūha mūrtis* of the God. The oldest of the Mādhava images is that of Nīlamādhava of Gandharāḍi at Bauda (Plate No. 26). It is very interesting to the students of the Hindu iconography. The four-armed god stands on the lotus pedestal, holding a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha* in the hands, turned backward, one of the other two hands (right hand broken, it perhaps held *Padma*) holding a *gadā*. The image has an *āloka cakra* (sirascakra or halo) behind the head and wears *vanamālā*. The god is attended by two lotus-carrying female figures (his two consorts—Śrī and Bhū) on either side. The main image of Nīlamādhava has long pendulous ears with ear-rings, curling hair, *upavīta*, scarf and *trikacha*, waist band, armlets, *kīrīṭa* on the head, and other ornaments.

Another Mādhava image at Nīlamādhava village in Purī district is very famous. The deity is four-armed holding *Padma* and *gadā* in the back hands, and *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in the front ones. Another image of the name of Lalita-Mādhava (Plate No. 27) found in the Śobhaneśvara temple in a village in the district of Purī is also four-armed. But in the Alvaranatha temple at Brahmagiri (Plate No. 28) 14 miles distant from Purī, a beautiful image of the name of Janārdana Nārāyaṇa similar to the Mādhava images exists (Plate No. 29). There is a Nīlamādhava temple at Kantilo, Purī (Plate No. 29A). It is not possible here to describe the iconographic features of all the Mādhava and Gopinātha images still being worshipped in the district.

The pārśva devatās in the main temple of Jagannātha as has been already stated are—(1) Trivikrama-Vāmana (Plate No. 30), (2) Nṛsiṁha (Plate No. 31),

(3) Varāha (Plate No. 32). In the Jagannātha temple the image of Trivikrama is shown in two different forms. Below the main image the dwarfish Vāmana is carved as receiving the gift of three steps of earth from king Baḷi accompanied perhaps by his wife.

The main figure of Trivikrama is four-armed having the usual decorations as other Viṣṇu images, and holding the four emblems in proper position. The right leg is shown firmly planted on the pedestal, while the left one is stretched upwards reaching as it were the Brahmāloka. A tiny figure of Brahmā is placed above the leg. The two beautiful female figures have been placed at either side of his, and, holding lotuses in their hands, are his *śaktis*.

Varāha :

This image is shown standing, its left leg is stretched forward, and the right leg backward just as in a fighting mood. The god is endowed with four arms, the back right hand holding a discus ; in the back left hand is shown the goddess earth rescued from the nether regions by the Avatāra, called Varāha with a *gadā* and *padma* in hands. The Avatāra is pleasantly carved and is decorated with the usual ornaments.

Nṛsiṁha :

According to tradition, the image of this Avatāra represents the presiding deity of Indradyumna's sacrifice, and is older than Jagannātha. The god is shown here with the demon Hiraṇyakasyapu stretched on his lap. The entrails of the demon are being extracted by the two front hands of the deity. Nṛsiṁha holds a disc in his upper right hand and a club in his upper left hand. He wears a *rudrākṣamālā* round his neck instead of a flower garland. His face is very fierce-looking.

Among the sculptures of the temple of Jagannātha, those of Kṣetrapāla, Dvārapāḷa and eight Dikpāḷas are worth noting. The Dikpāḷas are shown riding on their respective vāhanas, but they do not have their consorts by their side and are placed above them. The Kṣetrapāḷa and Dvārapāḷa images with their usual iconographic details are put in their proper places. Besides these there are reliefs on the outer side of the Bhoga maṇḍapa, which depict the king of Purī taking part in the 12 yātrās. It seems the king actually was performing these festivals along with the festivals of Jagannātha. They are—(1) *Dolotsava*, (2) *Kumārotsava*, (3) *Snānotsava*, (4) *Durgāmādhavotsava*, (5) *Vijayaotsava*, (6) *Abhiṣekotsava*, (7) *Suniautsava*, (8) *Gahaṇaotsava*, (9) *Nandotsava*, (10) *Nāvakeliutsava*, (11) *Nṛtyotsava* and (12) *Rājotsava*. Notice may only be taken of four of theses *Dvādasa-yātrā* reliefs.

(1) *Dola-utsava* (Plate No. 33) : The king is seated on a craddle which is fixed to an arch above with iron chains. He is accompanied by several female attendants ; two of them hold *cāmaras* and the others gaze at the swinging king.

(2) *Rowing festival* (Nāvakeḷi Utsava) Plate No. 34 : A beautifully decorated boat is being driven by five women, one of them standing on the prow of the boat with the radder in her hand and the other four pulling the oars ; the sixth female attendant holds an umbrella over the king. There is also another female companion holding a plate, possibly of flowers. The king is seated on a *Dolā* inside a small pavilion in the centre of the boat.

(3) *Nandotsava* (Plate No. 35) : The king is seated inside a beautiful palanquine carried by his attendants. On one side nine bearers are seen ; on the other side only four are seen. Two female attendants holding umbrellas ride on horse-back on both sides of the king.

(4) *Vijayotsava* : Here the king is seated on the throne (siṁhāsana) to receive new year's blessings. He is served by five female attendants, one holding umbrella, another holding *cāmara* and the third one holding some offerings. Two *sanyāsis* accosted by the *pratiharī* are shown invoking a prosperous new year for the king.

The most significant sculpture engraved on the Bhogamaṇḍapa at its northern side is that of Durgā Mādhava (Plate No. 36). Here Jagannātha is shown along with Śiva and Durgā. This shows a definite syncretic tendency. This motif is also present in the Konārka temple. In the same panel the king is shown accompanied by his female attendants. A peculiar feature in this panel is the presence of a bearded ascetic-like figure shown shaking hands with the king. The king might stand for Indradyumna, and the bearded male figure may represent the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu.

The obscene or erotic sculptures on the Jagannātha are very often criticised by scholars and visitors alike. It is therefore necessary to say something about this feature of the religious shrines. It is a fact that Jagannātha temple is not the only temple in which such reliefs occur. There are many other early and late medieval temples on whose walls are depicted such grossly sensual figures. In the earlier temples these mithuna sculptures are carved in smaller proportions, and put in obscure places not to be noticed by a visitor easily. But in some shrines, especially of a later period, the Mithunas are of bigger size, and are placed sometimes in prominent places of the temples. In the Konārka, the Jagannātha and some Khajuraho temples, much prominence is given to these motifs.

The *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the Purāṇas :like *Agnī* and *Matsya*, the Āgamas like the *Vaikhanasāgama* lay down that these erotic Mithunas are to be carved on the outer walls of these religious houses. The *Agnī Purāṇa* tells us that the last of the four *śākhās* (divisions of a temple) should be decorated with Mithuna figures (*Mithunai ratha vallībhiḥ śākhā śesam vibhūṣayet*). Śākhās have four subdivisions.—(1) *Urdha*, (2) *Madhya*, (3) *Antaḥ* and (4) *Adhaḥ*.

(1) *Urdha* is *svarga* (Heaven) from *Āmalaka* to Kalaśa ;
(2) *Madhya* is *Martya* from *Veki* to *Siṁha* ;
(3) *Antaḥ Pātāla* from *bāḍa* to *Simha* ;
(4) *Adhaḥ Tolātala* from *bāḍa* to *Pīṭha*.

The last is the 4th part (caturthāṁśa) i.e. the mithunas are to be carved in the section from *bāḍa* to *pīṭha*.

There is a story in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa[37] according to which Indra was guilty of the sin of *Brahmahatyā*. He divided his sin into four parts and gave it to four units, (1) the earth, (2) the waters, (3) trees and (4) women. As regards the part which fell to the share of women, it was granted by Indra that they would always cherish the passion of love, though their monthly sickness would symbolize the part of the *Brahmahatyā* sin shared by them. Under Indra's injunction nobody should take away or disturb the love affairs of women when they are in union with men. This is also supported by *Pāraskaraguhyasūtra* Garbhādhanaprakaraṇa. Even the *Vajra* of Indra will never strike the structure such as a temple, where the *mithunas* have been carved. This paurāṇic story may explain in a way the presence of these human couples engaged in different sex acts indicative of their mutual love and passion. On the basis of this story, the carving of such scenes on temple walls can be regarded as prophylactic in nature. These *mithunas* assumed so much importance that in the Tāntric world they were worshipped. They are called *Yoginis*. The *Tantrarājatantra and Koulāvalī tantra*[38] say that offerings should be made to the fifty *mithunas*. It is strange that on the *Anaṅgatrayadaśī* day the *mithuna* images on the temple of Jagannātha are actually worshipped The first *mithuna* that is worshipped is Anaṅgāturā carved on the outer northern wall of the Jagamohana.

Scholars like Maxpol Fouchet, Stella Kramrisch,[38a] M. M. Ganguli, S. K. Saraswati and many others have discussed at length showing the reason why these erotic sculptures are there on the temples. Mr. Foucher quotes the opinion of Georges Guette who goes so far as to say that these erotic pictures are symbolic equivalents of the mystic syllable "Oṁ". When the two sexes conjoin, one satisfies the desire of the other ; in the same way the symbol of 'Oṁ' in the conjunction of its parts satisfies all desire. "There are various explanations" says Maxpol

Fouschet but all show that iconography of love can not be divorced from the spiritual and every day life of the Hindus. "The caturvarga (Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) which the Hindus want to attain are very significant. Kāma stands for desire, passion and love[39]. There are others who think that these obscene figures carved on the temples represent Māyā in the shape of Kāma who always disturbs the devotees. If any one could surpass this māyā after having circumambulated the temple would succeed in getting a vision of Brāhmaṇ. Brāhmaṇ or Jagannātha resides in the Ānandamaya Kośa where there is no obscenity. The temple consists of *pañcakośas*. The last *kośa* is the *Ānandamaya kośa* where the Lord, Brahmaṇ or Paramātmā resides. That is why there is a long prevailing custom that a devotee has to pass by a series of gods and goddesses according a certain order before he comes to the garuḍa pillar wherefrom he will have a darśan of Jagannātha.

The Upaniṣadic background of the veneration or importance paid to the *Mithunas* may not convince or appeal to a scientific mind.

REFERENCES

1a. *Skandapurāṇa*, Utkal Khanda. The description of Śaṅkhakṣetra and the geography of the place has been given in this section of the *Skandapurāṇa*.

b) *Prācīn Utkal*, p. 478.

c) This is also widely known as Śrīkṣetra and Puruṣottama Kṣetra.

2. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 229.

3. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, 1949-50.

4. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Int. pp. 25 by Dasgupta & Dey. The Buddhist monk Dharmakīrtti defeated Kumārilabhaṭṭa.

5. *Mukha liṅga temples* by Douglas Barrett, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.* This temple has been dated about 950-975 A.D.

7. *Archaeological remains at Bhubanesvara*, p. 254 by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi.

8. *Cannons of Orissan architecture* by N. K. Bose, pp. 91-101.

9. *Orissa and her remains*, p. 417.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Mādalāpāñji*, p. 48—Prācī edition. According to the Panji the Kurma bedhā was built by Puruṣottamadeva in his 9th regnal year.

11a. *Utkal Sāhitya*, 25th issue, 2nd Jyesthạ—Year 1328, pp. 75-77.

12. *Prācīn Utkala*, pp. 472-473.

13. Mahātvaṁ Navagunitatvaṁ—Commentary of Bhāskaraya on Mahacatusasti Yoginī Ganasevitā (Sārada Tilaka Tantra).

14. Sketch of Vaiṣnavāgni—Meru tantra paṭala III, śloka 52.
15. *Orissa and her remains*, p. 425 and *Prācīn Utkal*, p. 472.
16. *The śākta pīṭhas* by Dr. D. C. Sircar, p. 12.
    Mention is made of Vimaḷā Pīṭha and the deity Vimaḷā as Bhairavī. Tantra cūḍāmaṇi also supports this view.
17. Acutānanda Das—*Sūnya Saṁhitā*, p. 5.
    Avatāra daśa ehi dāru rūpa ehi dārure se līna Īśvara sākṣāte liḷāra nimante vije Ratna Siṁhāsana.
18. Jñāna sidhi of Indrabhūti—Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV, Chap. I, verse 1.
19. Puruṣottama Māhātmya O Tīrtha Parikramā, p. 8 by Brahmacāri Śānti Prakāśa published by Govardhana Maṭha of Śaṅkarācārya, Puri.
20. Orissa and her remains by M. M. Ganguli, p. 412.
21. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Ch. VI, verse IV.
22. Viṣṇu dharmottara purāṇa III, Ch. XLVI, verses 2-3.
23. Prapañcasāra Tantra, Ch. XIX, verse XIV.
24. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Ch. 131, śloka X.
25. Ibid and Vaikhānasāgama, Ch. VI, pp. 18-20.
26. Bharat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. LIX, ślokas 4-5.

    "Āyuḥ Śrī baḷajayadā dārumayī mṛṇmayī tathā pratimā
    Lokahitāya maṇimayī sauvarṇaī puṣṭidābhavati
    Rajatmayī kīrtikarī prajābhivṛhim karoti tāmramayī
    Bhūlābhaṁ tu mahāntam śailī pratimā athava liṅgam.

27. Vaikhānasāgama—Paṭala X, p. 35, Line 16.

    Atha dhruva beram tāmrajam śaila ja vā vidhīyate
    Dāravam vā mṛṇmayam sreṣṭham.
    Kāśyapa śilpa—

    Yārcā mṛddāru sambhūta mayaḥ
    Śrī baladāmati

    Quoted by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. 59, ślokas 4-5.
    Viṣṇu saṁhitā—Paṭal XIV, p. 67

    Tāmraja dhanaputrārthā maṇijā sukhadā bhavet
    Dārujā śrīkarī jñenyā mṛṇmayī sarva kāmadā

28. Vaikhānasāgama, Ch. XII, p. 40.
29. *Ibid*, Ch. XV, p. 47.
30. The deities are taken out on two occasions namely Snāna yātrā and Ratha yātrā.

30a. Vaikhānasāgama—Varṇasaṁskāram, Ch. XIV, p. 46.

    Devesasya Aṅgam śveta sauvarnam
    Śyāmañjanam ca sarvānām śyāma varṇam vā kārayet

31. Prācīna Utkala, pp. 469-70 and Jagannātha Mandir in Bengali by Paṇḍit Sadāsiva Miśra, pp. 77-78.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Bṛhat Saṁhitā Prasādalakṣaṇam, Ch. LV, Ślokas 10-16.

    Śeṣamāngalya vihagaih Śrī Vṛkṣaih svastikaih ghataih
    Mithunaiḥ patra vallībhih Pramathaiscāpi sabhayet.

35a. Agni Purāṇa, Ch. 104, verse 30.

36. Vaikhānasāgama, Ch. XV, p. 48.
Śivasaṁhitā, p. 45.
Prānatoṣiṇī, p. 618.
Gandharva tantra, p. 60.

37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Ch. VI and VII, pp. 2-40.
Pāraṣkaragahyasūtra Garbhādhāna prakaraṇa
Taitiriya bhaśya : *Bhabatinam kāmabihantā pātakisyat.*

38. Kauḷāvalī tantra, Ch. XXI, ślokas 88-96.

38a. S. K. Saraswati's article published in "The struggle for Empire", Vol. V, pp. 652-53.
Erotic pictures at Khajuraho, Stella Kramrisch, p. 10.

39. The erotic sculptures of India—Maxpol Fouschet, pp. 11-12.

CHAPTER V

TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION AND RITES AND FESTIVALS

The construction of the magnificent structure of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and the installation of three deities therein assumed, in course of time, so much importance that it became mecessary to maintain them in a very systematic way. But it must be noted here that the proper maintenance of the temple was certainly not an easy task. Many new systems were introduced with regard to the daily ritualistic services to the deities and this involved the establishment of an administrative machinery to look after the proper management of the temple. The Lord Jagannātha came to be regarded as the protecting deity of the world, consequently of Orissa and that is why he was given the epithet as "The Lord of the World". To every devout Hindu, therefore, he became the source of religious inspiration and guidance.

The rulers of Orissa also spared no pain to see how best the daily activities of temple can be carried on smoothly, and it is thus natural that many rules and regulations were enacted, from time to time, for the same. This administrative code of conduct helped much to maintain the discipline of the entire organisation of the Jagannātha temple.

The present temple as we have already said was constructed by Choḍagaṅgadeva, who, again, laid the foundation of the temple administration. Now when Anaṅgabhīmadeva came to rule Orissa he immediately took steps towards the better maintenance and administration of the temple. So we can safely say that it was during the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva that the temple came to be considered like an institution which required systematic and disciplined administration. Anaṅgabhīmadeva was a king of great merit ; he therefore foresaw that the temple could not be maintained properly unless a new life was introduced in its administration. For the smooth running of the different activities of the temple-organisation he donated many lands in favour of Lord Jagannātha, dedicated a large collection of jwellery to the temple, and introduced the system of *Chattisāniyoga*[1]. Previously there were only 9 *sevaks* according to the local tradition. They are—(1) *Caru Hotā*, (2) *Pātra Hotā*, (3) *Brahmā*, (4) *Ācārya*, (5) *Pratihāri*, (6) *Puspālaka*, (7) *Dyatās*, the washerman and the barber. Each was given charge of some particular duty so that there would not be any mismanagement in the organisation. This able administration helped much to give an economic stability to the temple. *Chatisāniyoga* has three important *niyogas*, viz. *pratihāriyoga*, suār and *mahāsuāryoga*, and *bhitarchuniyoga*. These three agencies supervised the work of other temple servants and decided the mode of punishment to be meted out to them. Different types of punishment were meted out to the attendants of the Jagannāthá Temple for the violation of their duties. Interference in other's duties was also not tolerated[2]. According to some there was one head for each *Niyoga* known as the *Nāyaka*. From among these *Nāyakas* three important officers were selected to accept the office as one *Adhināyaka* (President), *Kārji* (Secretary) and *Karaṇa* (Accountant). These three heads were actually managing the temple. Then again there were a few more *Nāyakas* belonging to the *Chatisāniyoga* namely—*Chatisāniyoga Nāyaka*, *Vitarchu Nāyaka*, *Talchu Nāyaka*, and *Baḍapaṇḍā*. They were also called *Adhināyaka* and above them there were *Mahānāyakas* who were responsible for the smooth running of the administration. If any *Vāgāri* (a kind of temple servant) of the particular *Niyoga* did not perform his duty or created disturbances the head of the temple officers reported it to the concerned *Niyoga* for taking action. In these matters the king was the final authority.

Then came the *Sūryavaṁśi* kings (Rulers of Solar Dynasty).

Kapilendradeva, being influenced by the great legacy of Jagannātha, began to introduce still greater measures for the proper running of the temple. As he was a devout follower of the Lord he was not greedy like other kings in respect of the State as well as the deity Jagannātha and His temple. Similar instructions were passed on to his people not to disturb the peace, harmony of the State and that of the institution. All these are recorded in one of his inscriptions. This was a clear indication that perfect unity and amity were necessary for the well being of the temple-organisation[3].

When we come to Pratāparudradeva we find a very interesting system introduced for the first time in the Jagannatha Temple. The great life of poet Jayadeva influenced him so much that the *Gītagovinda*, his monumental work, acclaimed as a work full of religious devotion, was taken up by the king to be daily recited in the temple.[4] According to his orders this system came to be observed by the different sects of the Vaiṣṇavas. But this must be noted here that some particular chapters of the *Gītagovinda* were proclaimed by the king to be recited at some particular hours of the day. This explains that possibly some disputes arose previously, relating to the recitation of religious works. And this procedure to recite the different portions of the work at different hours is still being followed.

Prataprudradeva's supervision of the temple management was a further step towards the smooth running of the temple. He also assigned specific duties in connection with the temple to different groups of Vaiṣṇavas.

But all credit must go to king Rāmachandradeva of the Bhoi dynasty without whom we could not have the present deities and the existing mode of worship at the Jagannātha temple. He infused a new life into the entire system[5].

Then came a transitional period in Orissan history. The Moghuls were then ruling in India and Akbar, the then Moghul Emperor, sent Mānsingh as his emissary to Orissa to inspect, supervise and report to him all about the administration of the Jagannātha Temple as well as the State of Orissa. Mānsingh was impressed by the remarkably good management of the temple[6].

The most important change made by the Moghuls in respect of the temple-administration was by way of tax levied on the pilgrims which was known as "The Pilgrim Tax". So we can see some interference by the Moghuls in respect of administration.

After the Moghuls came the Mahrattās. They were Hindus, and they refrained from doing any atrocity on the temple which was so very often committed by the Moghuls. They regarded Jagannāthadeva with perfect devotion. And although the Pilgrim Tax was retained by the Mahrattās they effected several improvements in the temple-organisation. The Mahrattās did not interfere with the internal affairs of the temple ; on the contrary, several innovations were made by them like the construction of the famous Aṭharnaḷā Bridge.

The temple-administration improved during the British regime. They immediately took steps to assess the economic position of the temple. With care and precision they thought that the temple could not be given an economic stability unless the deficit amount was paid by the government. But what is curious is that this payment towards the deficit budget of the temple was not liked by the British Parliament where it was vehemently opposed[7].

At first the British retained the Pilgrim Tax, but later on it was abolished. During this time the power of the king of Orissa began to dwindle ; as a result the supreme authority of the temple-administration was vested not in the king but in a Superintendent appointed by the Government. For some reason or other the administrative power was again transferred to the king.

Hitherto no proper account of valuable ornaments and garments of the Lord was maintained. Thinking that this was quite arbitrary on the part of the temple-organisation the British took stock of the entire wealth and cared to see how best they could be protected. This action of the British was hailed by all[8].

Then the British appointed a Collector exclusively for the Jagannātha Temple whose work was to see that all revenues in favour of the Jagannātha Temple were properly collected and utilised for the purpose of the temple. But later on this Collector was replaced by the appointment of the king in charge of this function. Thus the status quo of the temple was fully maintained by the British. Only some new improvements were made in order to organise and run the temple in a disciplined manner[9].

The system of division of the entire temple-staff into many categories was first introduced by King Anaṅgabhīmadeva as stated above. This system was not changed by the British, rather it was reoriented in the light of keeping proper records of the rights of the servants of the temple.

With regard to the worship of Jagannātha many new intricacies began to creep into the religious rites. The British did not interfere with the performance of these rites. They only properly supervised everything. In this way the different festivals which came to be associated with the Lord Jagannātha were encouraged to be observed properly by the people. Better police arrangements, looking after the public health, proper sanitary arrangement for the pilgrims as well as lodging houses for them, all came within the purview of the British administration. So we can say that the British administration of the Jagannātha temple perfected the entire organisation in a systematic way.

The executive function of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri was based mainly on four agencies. They were—(1) the paramount chief of Orissa or the Rājā of Puri and other tributary chiefs of the eastern states, (2) the temple functionaries, (3) the monasteries and the public at large, and (4) the State Government. The four agencies worked together for the smooth running of the temple-administration. So long as this system was observed in the past there was no mismanagement at all, but when the specific duties assigned to different attendants were violated there developed chaos and confusion.

The Rājā of Puri employed *sevakas* of various castes to do their respective caste occupations in the temple. Each caste group working in the temple set up its confederation or the *niyogas* and had a representative body nominated by its group to supervise the day-to-day function. Different attendants of the temple were assigned different types of work. This division of labour imparted a democratic character to the entire organisation.

However, Puri is such a place where every faith of Hinduism converged. So the place came to be associated, in course of time, with innumerable *maṭhas* and *āśramas*. With the establishment of many monasteries at Puri they were given the opportunity to serve the Lord Jagannātha. Different *maṭhas* were assigned different duties. The duties assigned to a particular *maṭha* came to be exercised by that particular *maṭha* and no interference from any other *maṭha* was allowed. In other words every *maṭha* did its duty to the temple independently. But there were occasions when the proper exercise of the duties by various *maṭhas* as well as by the Rājā of Puri were grossly neglected. This resulted in the deterioration of the temple-administration.

Previously all disputes pertaining to the temple-administration were first referred to the Rājā of Puri who thereupon used to call the *Muktimaṇḍapa* (the assembly of paṇḍits) to pass the final verdict on religious matters. For giving decision on religious matters regarding worship of the deity the Head of the *Pūjā paṇḍās* also was consulted. They were called *Baḍapaṇḍās*. This system is still in vogue and the verdict of *Muktimaṇḍapa* is accepted even today. This *Muktimaṇḍapa* with *mahānāyakas* acted like the final judiciary in religious matters. The executive function of the administration rested in the *Adhināyakas* of the *chattisāniyogas*, whose supreme authority was, however, the king. The final authority is now vested in the Temple Management Committee. The legislative function was jointly executed by the *Muktimaṇḍapa* and the king including four *parichhās*. Thus the temple appeared like a legal person or self-contained viable institution which had three functions : judiciary, legislative and executive.

We can safely say that during the British regime there were signs of improvements in relation to the temple. But immediately after the independence everything went out of control, when, the government was compelled to pass the Jagannātha Temple Act (1952). This intervention by the government saved the entire institution from further deterioration. But disorder was noticed again, as a result the temple-administration was adversely affected. This prompted the government to assume the full control of the temple of Jagannātha.[10]

Now we should like to give here a very short account of some *maṭhas* in Orissa which have direct bearing upon the administration of the Jagannātha temple.

The Oriyā Maṭha :

This *maṭha* is responsible for making all arrangements for the *bhoga* in connection with the festivals that are observed in different months. During the *Rukminīharaṇa* festival this *maṭha* makes arrangements for the *paṅktibhoga* in the Jagamohana as well the supply of *Kalāśāri* (Black Sāri) for the goddess *Vimalā*. The canopy (chanduā) over Lord Jagannātha and his pillows are to be supplied by this *maṭha*. The work of cleansing the *Siṁhāsana* is also vested in this *maṭha*.

The worn-out door-frames of the kitchen and the storehouse of the Jagannātha temple go to this *maṭha*, which, in turn, is responsible to replace them with new door-frames. In addition to this, this *maṭha* has other duties in respect of the *Guṇḍichā Mandir* and the *Rathas*.

The Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha : (Plate No. 37)

The priests of the Jagannātha Temple learn the art of ritualistic worship from this *maṭha*. That is, this *maṭha* is responsible for the education and training of the priests in respect of worship to the deities. After obtaining sufficient training at this *maṭha* certificates are issued to the priests. They are then, by an order of the king, entitled to enter into the priesthood. The system is no longer in vogue in the temple. The function is now done by *Muktimaṇḍapa*.

The Rāmānūja Maṭha :

This *maṭha* is responsible for performing the fanning of the deities. It also arranges *bhogas* for various festivals. –

As to the rights of the *maṭhas* they enjoy some privileges with regard to the temple. They receive different types of *bhogas* after they are offered to the deities.

The other Maṭhas :

Other important *maṭhas* connected with the Jagannātha temple are the *Jagannāthaballabha, Rāghavadās, Shrirāmadās, Uttarpārśva* and *Dakṣinapārśva maṭhas.* Of these the *Jagannāthaballabha maṭha* is the most closely connected as this *maṭha* helps in organising various festivals in the temple.

ADMINISTRATION

The Temple Office of the Gajapati King

Māhāl, (Income)
27 Hajari,
Ekhrajat Khāsmāhāl,
Sadar Khāsmāhāl,
The entire landed property belonging to the temple

- All Sadar employees, Nadar, Sirastā, Manager, etc.
- All employees in charge of collecting dues from the villages

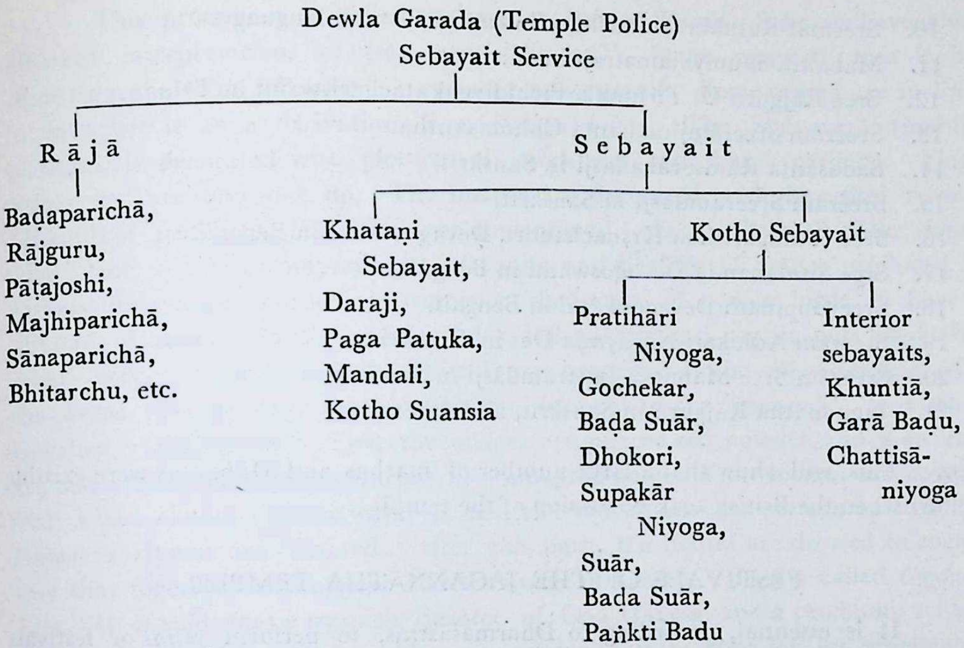
Dewla (Expenditure)
Dewla Guard (Temple Police)

DAILY ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEMPLE

This administration is carried on by the
Nāyakas, Kārpadadārs, Sirastādars,
Koṭhakaraṇas, Dewlkaraṇas

Expenditure Section

Door-guards,
Dākuā (peons)
Shodha (cleaners),
Aratiya (The deliverer of the summons).
Barkandāz (Sepoys),
Pātsahāni (Peskar)


Dewla Garada (Temple Police)
Sebayait Service
Rājā
Sebayait
Baḍaparichā,
Rājguru,
Pāṭajoshi,
Majhiparichā,
Sānaparichā,
Bhitarchu, etc.
Khataṇi Sebayait,
Daraji,
Paga Patuka,
Mandali,
Kotho Suansia
Kotho Sebayait
Pratihāri Niyoga,
Gochekar,
Baḍa Suār,
Dhokori,
Supakār Niyoga,
Suār,
Baḍa Suār,
Paṅkti Badu
Interior sebayaits,
Khuntiā,
Garā Baḍu,
Chattisā-niyoga

A lage number of *maṭhas* belonging to different sects existed when the British took possession of the temple. This is evident from a letter signed by almost all the *mahantas* (Head of the Maṭhas) of various *maṭhas* of Puri. The letter is addressed to Lord Wellesley who was the then Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal (vide Letter No. 345, Dated 24th July, 1804).

This letter was written in Sanskrit and was signed in different scripts like Telegu, Oriya, Tamil, Kanarese, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi etc. by the following :—

1. Kṛṣṇacandra Mohāpātra Chhatisaniyoga Nayak in Oriya.
2. Jagannāthaji — The Adhikārī of the temple of Jagannāthaballabha Maṭha in Sanskrit.
3. Gurumukha Dāsaji.
4. Ramamahanta Ramaratna Dās.
5. Surdas Guruji,
6. Sree Indrabalji.
7. Sree Śrī Rāma.
8. Sree Gopālaji.
9. Chaitandasji — Mahanta, Bada Akhada. All of them have signed in Sanskrit.

10. Sreemat Ratnanrusinhachari Swāmī in Kanāḍi language.
11. Mahanta Saumyajamatraji in Sanskrit.
12. Sree Rājguru U. Tirumala Pichidivenkatachariswami in Telugu.
13. Sreerām Sreerāmjimahanta Chhotasantha.
14. Badasanta Rāmsevakadasji in Sanskrit.
15. Sreerām Sreerāmdāsji in Sanskrit.
16. Sree Rādhākrishna Kṛṣṇachandra Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
17. Sree Sitalānanda Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
18. Sree Gopinath Devagoswāmi in Bengali.
19. Sreerām Adhikari Nārāyaṇa Dās in Sanskrit.
20. Sreerām Sree Mahanta Jayarāmdāsji in Sanskrit.
21. Jagannātha Rājguru in Sanskrit, and others.

This will show that a large number of maṭhas and Mahantas were existing at Puri when the British took possession of the temple.

FESTIVALS OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

It is essential, according to Dharmaśāstras, to perform *yātrās* or festivals for the installed deities. When yātrās or festivals are held, the people of remote parts of the country coming to witness them, often find pleasure in seeing the deities in procession. There may be devotees who are old, invalid and diseased and thus do not have the access to the Shrine[11]. All these people may be eager to have a *darśana* of the lords. To satisfy such people, festivals are observed. (Bṛddha Hārita Smṛti and Āgamas). It is also stated that the performance of festivals in the temples removes fear of fire, famine, flood and epidemic. (Bṛddha Hārita Smṛti, Ch. VI, Ślokas 1-6).[12]

These festivals may be celebrated for five, seven or nine days. At times they may continue even for six months or a year.[13] In the Jagannātha Temple, several *utsavas* and *yātrās* are observed. During these *utsavas* and *yātrās* the *Archā images* (Plate 38) are often taken out in processions. This system of taking out the installed deities is called *Mulabera,* which is, however, a speciality in this temple. We are going to describe the twelve main *yātrās* ; the rest will only be simply named at the end.

According to Nilādrimahodaya, Lord Jagannātha was born during the month of *Jyeṣṭha* on *Pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day. Śrīharṣa in his "*Naishadha Carita*" (XV. 89) refers to this festival af Puruṣottama. So on that day the Snāna Jātrā is performed. The images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and *Subhadrā,* along with the image of Sudarśana, are brought in procession to the *Snāna Vedi.*

This procession is called *Pahandi* cr *Pahandi-Vijaya*. Scholars have given different interpretations of this term "*Pahandi*". Some maintain that it has come from the term "*Praspanda*" meaning movement[14]. Some others are inclined to interpret it as a derivation from *Pāṇḍya Vijaya*. The Snānavedī (bathing platform) is decorated with pictures of jewel-trees and flower gardens. Flags, *toraṇas* etc. are also put up. The images are decorated with beautiful flowers. All kinds of perfumes, *dhūpas* etc. are then offered. As the '*Pahandi*' of the deities takes place to the accompaniment of music and beating of drums produced by various indigenous musical instruments, thousands of people jostle to have a glimpse of them. On the previous day 108 golden and copper pots filled with water brought from the well of Sitaḷā are preserved in the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. On the *Snāna Pūrṇimā* day, these vessels are brought to the *Snānavedī*. This ritual is called "Jaḷādhibāsa." First the images are offered red powder and then they are taken to the *Snānavedī*. During this time, the bodies of the images are covered with silken clothes. Then water is poured, the rituals are performed and the *Pavamāna* Hymns are chanted. After the bath, the deities are dressed in such a way that together they appear like the image of Gaṇeśa. This is called *Gajānana Veśa*. It is said that a staunch devotee of God Gaṇeśa and a profound scholar of South India visited Purī and he was rewarded by the King for his scholarship. That was the time of *Snāna Yātrā*. The king asked the scholar to accompany him to see Lord Jagannātha which the scholar refused under the pretext that he would not worship any God other than Gaṇeśa. Somehow he was persuaded and brought before the *Snāna Vedī*. To the surprise of all, Lord Jagannātha gave *Darśan* to the scholar in the form of Gaṇeśa. Therefore during the *Snāna Yātrā*, when the sacred bath is performed, the deities are dressed like Gaṇeśa. Various reasons for the *Gaṇeśa Vesa* (dress) are assigned. After the sacred bath the colours of the images are generally washed away. Seeing the wooden images without proper colouring the devotees may not have the appropriate devotional attitude and in fact may feel a sinful repugnance. For that reason, the images are dressed as *Gaṇeśa* in such a way that the devotees hardly observe the discolouration resulting from the *Abhiṣeka*.

This is the first Annual *Yātrā* of Jagannātha. Generally the deity Gaṇeśa is worshipped at the beginning of every religious rite and ritualistic worship. Because of this reason, Lord Jagannātha is decorated as *Gaṇeśa* during this time. Often *Gaṇeśa* is considered as a form of *Viṣṇu*.

After the *Snāna Yātrā*, the images of Jagannātha and others are kept away from public view for fifteen days without proper daily worship and they are kept on the *Ratna Vedī* inside the temple[15]. This is the period which is called "*Anabasara*", meaning improper time for worship. Already we have stated above that the images are discoloured as a result of the sacred bath. During these fifteen days the "*Daitās*" (who are the descendants of *Visvābasu,* the Savar Chief) colour the images and make suitable decorations. The period of colouring and decorations of the images is divided into seven short periods, each of two days' duration, and a short period of one day for finalising the colouring is kept apart. Thus the period covers a fortnight. On the 16th day the images become fit for being worshipped in their new forms after renovation. The festival of the first appearance of the Lord Jagannātha to his devotees is called *Netrotsaba* or *Navayauvan* (new life). According to the *Śilpaśāstras* and *Āgamas,* the images become suitable for worship only after the performance of the rites of "*Cakṣurunmilana*" or the opening of the eyes[16]. During "*Anabasara*" the "*Daitās*" offer to the deities only fruits and water mixed with cheese. According to them the deities do not keep well and therefore they take rest for the period. In fact they are considered to be ill and are treated by the *Rāja Vaidya* or the King Physician with a specific medicine.

Now let us describe the famous *Ratha Yātrā* or the Car-festival which is observed on the Āṣāḍha Śukla *Dwitiyā* i.e. the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha.

The celebration of *Ratha Yātrā* during the rainy season is significant. The sages are of opinion that the term '*barṣa*' (year) has been literally derived from the term '*barṣā*' or rain and this prolific rainy season leads and represents all the seasons of the year. Rain appears as the harbinger of hilarity and vitality for humanity. In "*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*" (III. 2) the rainy season is wonderfully admired. Hence the car-festival is being celebrated in rainy season.

The rainy season is symbolic and microcosmic of all other seasons of the year. The eastern wind in this season symbolises *spring,* the rain showers naturally denote the rainy season where the lightning flashes in it produce the autumnal effect, the break in rain indicates '*hemanta*' and above all, the alternate currency of heat and cold reminds one of summer and winter. Hence the rainy season represents all aspects of the natural seasons and appears as an entire organic whole. In the said work (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*—IV.2), an interesting legend regarding the origin of the *Ratha* is to be found. The car of the lord was in heaven long back. It was not to be noticed on earth. The legend says, the car originated on earth right from the battle between *Indra* (the King of heaven) and the demon *Brutrāsura.* When *Indra* violently flung the weapon of lightning on the body of the demon, the weapon was divided into four parts.

The third part was metamorphosed into a chariot. Possibly the term *'Ratha'* or chariot gained currency on earth since that day and gradually the process of its making was initiated. Indra is taken to be lord of rains and thunder. As the car is supposed to have been created out of his weapon, the car-festival at the beginning of the rainy season is mythically justified.

Besides *'Nandighoṣa'* the car of the lord Jagannātha (Plate No. 39) has another name called the "*Garuḍadhwaja*". As has been already stated, the car of Lord Baḷabhadra is named as "*Tāladhwaja*". The mystery behind the formation of this car is still unsolved. Baḷadeva is the incarnation of "*Śeṣa*", the holy *infinite* serpent on whom lord Viṣṇu takes rest. It is said that Lord Baḷabhadra places a mirror of wisdom on His altar below and receives a view of the entire universe through that. As the mirror is placed below (*tala*) it is called 'tāḷa'. Besides, pure and transparent qualities of the mirror are symbolically observed in Lord Baḷabhadra Himself, who is, therefore designated as *'Tālānka'*. In this way His car is named as *'Tāladhwaja'*. The outline of a mirror is perpetually found in the banner of the car. The car of goddess *'Subhadrā'* is called both "*Devadalana*" and "*Padmadhwaja*". Goddess Lakṣmī who is identified with *Subhadrā* is again called *Padmā* (the goddess on the lotus). *Subhadrā* represents wealth, prosperity and grace (Śree). Hence there is the lotus profile in the banner of her car and it is called *'Padmadhwaja'* too. On the eve of the car festival, the cars are virtually worshipped and the wind and other deities are admirably invoked. It is believed that such deities descend into the cars and protect the cars for nine days. Hence the three cars are considered as divine during this time. The tradition is, all categories of people ought not to ascend these. In *Purāṇas* various rules and directions of ascending the cars have been mentioned. It is said that the protection of the cars for full nine days is much more important than all sorts of worship and meditation before the deities therein. It is enjoined to safeguard and protect the attires, decorations, the weapons, the *'Pārśva Devatās'* placed in the cars when these move.

When the hilarious people drag the cars with the help of ropes, they are advised not to drag these speedily either out of excitement and fun or out of exhibiting their strength indicating lack of respect for the cars. To drag the cars in high speed is unconventional, which is discouraged. As the hymn says :—

[The car ought to be
Dragged very slowly
And the Holy wheels
Shall move slowly.

And with sounds.
Of universal love.]
Śaneḥ Śaneḥ ratho neyo
rath snehāṭu cakṛna
(*Sūrya Purāṇa*)

In this way the Gods descend into the cars and gradually seat themselves in the cars in supreme comfort. Hence the Gods get rest and poise if the cars move in a slow, sober manner. If the cars move otherwise, there might be some harm and it is believed that if by chance, some part of a car is damaged, it leads to disaster for the country and humanity.

It attracts people from different parts of India, nay from the world. Hundreds of foreigners too flock to Purī on this occasion.

After a particular kind of *bhog* is offered to the deities, they are brought to the Chariots one by one (Plate No. 40). The Chariots are kept ready on the day before the *Ratha-Yātrā* ceremony and they are placed in front of the *Singhadwār* (the lion's gate) facing North. They are placed in a row, the car of Baḷabhadra being in the first position, after which come the cars of Subhadrā and Jagannātha. Just before the carrying of the deities from the temple to the Chariots they are adorned with flower crowns and their mode of exit from the temple is known as *Pahandi*.

Jagannātha's car "*Nandighoṣa*" stands 45 feet high and is supported on 16 wheels each with a diameter of 7 feet high and is beautifully painted in yellow. "*Taladhwaja*" is the name of Baḷabhadra's car which is 44 feet high and is blue in colour while Subhadrā's car known as "*Darpadalana*" or "Devīratha" is 43 feet high and is dark-red. The colour of the covering cloth of the Rathas is prescribed according to the colour of the dresses the deities generally wear. Jagannātha is conceived by some as Kṛṣṇa who wears *Pitāmbara* or yellow cloth. Baḷabhadra is '*Nilāmbar*' clothed in blue whereas Subhadrā is conceived as Śakti, the red-robed mother-goddess. So the colour is scarlet. Inside these cars are installed the deities decorated in golden garments.

The cars do not start immediately after the installation of the three deities unless the Rājā of Purī, the descendant of the builder of the Jagannātha Temple comes in a palanquin, pays homage to the deities and sweeps the platform of each car one by one (Plate No. 41). This process is called as "cherā panharā" (sweeping of the floor of the chariot).

Then comes the most auspicious moment. Thousands of people seize the huge ropes and begin to pull the cars (Plate No. 42). The cars grind forward slowly along the Baḍa-dāṇḍa or the main road till their journey ends at *Gundicha Mandir*, at the end of the road. Baḷabhadra being the eldest, his car is drawn first. Then follows the car of Subhadrā, Jagannātha's car moves behind the two.

After the seventh day of their stay at the *Gundicā Mandir* (Plate No. 43) which is the Lord's garden house, the deities make their return trip or "*Bahuḍa-Yātrā*". On the Ekādaśī day the deities are ceremonially dressed which is called *Sunāvesa* (Plate Nos. 44, 45, 46).

It is a widely known fact that great religious importance is always attributed to the construction as well as the final consecration of the *Rathas* or the Chariots. The construction of the *Rathas* begins with the *Vanajāga* ceremony on the day of *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* and the *Rathas* are made only of Śāḷa wood supplied by the Rājā of Dasapallā (Now of course, the Government of Orissa supplies the wood).

As has been said before, every religious rite of this sacred place, *Nīlācala*, has some unique significance of its own. Indeed, every ritualistic performance breathes nobility and sanctity and always takes place according to the religious scriptures.

The construction of the *Rathas* from the *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* day, the christening of the cars, the different bases of the cars, perhaps every thing bears some deep religious and philosophic significance.

The *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* day heralds the commencement of *satyayūga* and as it conjures up a sacred idea because of its association with *satyayūga*, that may perhaps well explain the reason why the construction of the Rathas starts on that day.

The conception of the body as a Ratha is found in the Upaniṣad.

"*Ātmānam rathinam viddhi śariraṁ rathaṁeva tu*".

The Vedas, the Tantras and the Purāṇas—all speak about the infinite nature of the Supreme Being. The Srimad *Bhāgavat*, while giving an account of the 24 incarnations of the Lord, mentions His first incarnation as *jīva-svarūpa*. This *jīva-svarūpa* nature is but the first *apurvāvatāra* of that Eternal Being.

The structure of the Ratha has been taken as the gross body of this material world, while the Paramātman or the Supreme Being, in the *caturvyūha* manifestation of *Vāsudeva, Sankarṣana, Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*, is believed to ascend the Rathas. This opinion is held by many scholars. Again, it is believed that the creation of this material world starts at the end of *Mahāpralaya* or the great universal cataclysm. So the *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* day, because of its association with *satyayūga*, is the most suitable day for the beginning of the construction of the Rathas or the outer bodies of all beings. The importance of *Akṣaya Tṛtīyā* as the most auspicious day for sowing medicinal seeds has also been widely acclaimed in the scriptures,

All people, irrespective of caste, creed and religion can of course get maximum facility as to the seeing, touching and worshipping of the Lords placed on Rathas. This is possible because the evil of untouchability is conspicuously absent here.

The worship of the deities on the Rathas (cars) during the *Gundicā* and *Bahuḍa Yātrā* is associated with offering of non-cooked food stuffs like milk, ghee etc., while for the remaining seven days all the rituals are performed in the manner of those performed inside the Jagannātha temple, and cooked food-stuffs are offered as usual.

Now, if the reason for holding *Adhamatāraṇa-Yātrā* (the festival for the redemption of the ill-fated people) for a period of nine days is investigated, it will appear that the nine days correspond to the nine marks on each foot of the Lord which are nothing but the elementary and abstract properties or the creative manifestations of this material world.

The subject of the present discussion is, however, about the structure of the three Rathas (cars) of Śrī Jagannātha of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. The car of Śrī Jagannātha has 16 wheels indicating 16 kaḷās or divine principles of the Lord.

The Supreme being, in order to assume His *Jīva-svarūpa* nature, created this living world with the help of five subtle elements and eleven perceptive organs. These five subtle elements and eleven organs eventually led to signify 16 *Kalās* or principles of God. These 16 emanations, permeated by *māyā*, found expression in creating *avatāras* or incarnations which God desired to create.

As has been said above, the name of the Ratha is *Nandighoṣa* (Plate No. 47). The Charioteer is known as Mātali. The four horses are known as *Sankhikā, Rocikā, Mocikā, Jwālinī*. The Kaḷās are 16 in number. There are 16 *Aras* or *axles*. The presiding Ṛsi of the chariot is *Pāndu*. The car of Subhadrā is termed as

Devī-Ratha or *Devīdalana*. It has 12 wheels representing the twelve months. The Charioteer is known as *Devadatta*. The Horses are *Prajñā*, *Anujñā*, *Ghorā* and *Aghorā*. The Kaḷās are twelve in number. It has 12 axles or *Aras*. The presiding Ṛsi is *Yajñabalka*. Baḷabhadra's car is called *Tāladhwaja*. It is supported on 14 wheels, which indicate the life-time of Brahmā involving caturdaśa-manvantara. Baḷabhadra is the Lord of this gross material world, and has, therefore, a huge body. He is thus *Virāṭa*. The Charioteer is known as *Tāladhvaja*. The horses are *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, *Sama*, *Atharva*. There are 14 kaḷās or wheels representing the fourteen worlds. The *Aras* are 14 in number. The presiding Ṛsi is Aṅgirā.

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha, the *Śayana Utsava* or sleeping ceremony is performed. Previous to that day the 'Adhivāsa' rites are performed. At night the representative images (small golden images) *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa*, *Anantavasudeva* and *Bhubaneśwarī* representing Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā respectively are brought to the well-decorated sleeping chamber and placed on the cots. They are all four-armed with usual attributes. They are invoked with the prayer 'Oh Lord, do please sleep for four months for the welfare of the universe.' Then they are laid on their respective cots.

On the day the sun begins to move to the Equinox a festival is observed which is called *Dakṣiṇāyana Yātrā*.

A popular festival known as *Jhulana Yātrā* is held in the precincts of the temple of Lord Jagannātha. On the Muktimaṇḍapa platform, which is elaborately decorated, the *Jhulana Yātrā* is held from Daśamī upto the Pūrṇimā day in the month of Śrāvaṇa. Madanmohan is placed in a beautiful ornamented swinging chariot. The festival is also held in the different Maṭhas (Monasteries).

On the Haribāsara day or the 11th of bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada, the '*Pārśvaparibartana*' (turning of sides) festival is performed. On this day at evening, after the usual rituals, the God is requested to change the side.

Again on the 11th day of bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika the gods are awakened from divine slumber. This festival is called "*Probadhana Yātrā*" or rising ceremony.

On the 6th day of the bright fortight of Mārgaśira the deities are dressed in winter garments. This festival is called '*Prāvaraṇa Utsava*.'

On the full moon day of month of Pauṣa, a Yātrā called *Pusyābhiṣeka* is performed. During this festival the same rites such as *Adhivāsa* etc. are performed as in *Snāna Yātrā*. Pots filled with perfumed water are taken from Bhogamaṇḍapa to the Ratnavedī. This *Abhiṣeka* is performed for the representative deities like Rām, Sitā and Lakṣmaṇa. That is why this festival is also called *Rāmābhiṣeka*.

Then the *Uttarāyaṇ Yātrā* is performed on the *Makara Saṅkrānti* day when the Sun moves towards the southern equinox. The next important yātrā is the *Dola Yātrā*. The *Arcāberas* or the representative deities are taken out to *Dola Vedī* (Plate No. 47A) and the swinging festival is performed. This is called as *Vasantotsab* which was introduced during the reign of Narasiṁha Deva, the grand son of Ramchandra Deva, who was popularly known as Abhinava Indradyumna. This is according to *Vasantotsab kāvya* of Haḷadhara Mishra. The book is still unpublished. Another yātrā, called '*Damanaka*' is also observed when *Damanaka* plant is offered to the images. This is observed in the month of Caitra.

The last of the annual festivals which lasts for 21 days is called *Candan Yātrā*. The entire road from the shrine of Jagannātha upto the Narendra tank along with houses on both sides is decorated. At some places big toraṇas are erected where the images take casual rest and receive offerings. The images of *Madanmohan*, Goddess *Lakṣmī* and *Saraswati* are taken in palanquin by the sevakas to the Narendra Sarovara. These images are followed by different deities from different shrines. After reaching the Narendra tank, the images are placed in different well decorated boats and they are rowed for a long time by the Sevakas (Plate No. 48). During this rowing ceremony *devadāsīs* (the temple dancers) dance and sing in the boat. Generally the colours of the boats are white and red. The peculiarity of this ceremony is that *Madanmohan* with *Lakṣmī* and *Saraswati* rides on the white coloured boat whereas *Rāmakṛṣṇa* with *Pañca Śiva* rides the red boat. All the deities on the boat take trips in the tank for several times. Some of the festivals observed in the Jagannātha temple excepting Prāvaraṇa Utsava are also performed in other Vaiṣṇava temples of South India which follow the Vaikhānasa and Pañcarātra Āgamas.[17]

The Goddess Lakṣmī has been housed in a separate shrine in the precincts of the Jagannātha Temple at Purī. From the traditional mythological point of view, she is regarded as the Mother of the Universe and the possessor of the wealth of all the three worlds. But according to common belief, as recorded in legend, her nature and behaviour are like those of an Oriya house-wife. She herself cooks and serves, it is said, her husband, her brother-in-law and sisters-in-law. She does not appear before her elder brother-in-law like an Oriya house-wife. Therefore, the image of Lakṣmī is never carried close to the throne of the Lord because there stands Lord Baḷabhadra, elder brother of Jagannātha. Lakṣmī is not only an ideal, devoted wife but she is also lovely and touchy. Sometimes she bahaves like a sensitive Oriya housewife with her husband for lack of mental understanding. This sensitiveness and touchiness by Goddess Lakṣmī is best manifested on two occasions : first, on the "*Hera Pañcamī*" day (fifth day) on the journey to *Gundica* temple and second, on the return journey of the Lord Jagannātha. This latter occasion is usually known as the festival of "Opening the door".

The Lord Jagannātha launches his car festival accompanied by his brother and sister, Subhadrā. Lakṣmī is deprived of this pleasant privilege. Thus, on the Hera (beholding) Pañcamī (fifth day) this aggrieved and lovely wife, starts secretly for the *Gundica* temple in a fighting and angry mood. In her impotent anger, she breaks up one of the several wheels of Lord Jagannātha's car and comes away as surreptitiously as she had gone.

This fine psychological insight into a woman's mind also reveals one of the typical features of Oriya culture and the Oriya woman's place in it. A woman has a rightful share in her husband's happiness. If the husband neglects her, and forces upon her a separation not in accord with her wishes, her natural reaction (in spite of her noble birth and breeding) would be jealousy and anger. Besides, such a separation does not augur well for either of them. Thus, Lakṣmī is depicted as '*Adhīrā Nāyikā*' the aggrieved heroine.

Nine days after, when Lord Jagannātha returns home, Lakṣmī shuts the door on Him on the ground of her undeserved deprivation. The King of Purī, however, tries to patch up the misunderstanding by arranging a meeting of reunion between them known as *Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bheṭ*. An elephant is sent to fetch her from the temple which she promptly declines. However, when the offer is renewed, she comes in a palanquin to meet her Lord. But her feelings are hardly assuaged, and she nurses her neglect and humiliation. Thus, when the Lord appeals to Lakṣmī to open the door, the Goddess replies, "You are the Lord of all the three worlds, why do you come here ? Take back your sister with you, for left alone she may feel the pangs of separation." The Lord tells her, "I had with me my elder brother, Baḷabhadra. How could you accompany me ?" And then to pacify her the Lord promises her valuable gifts. But Lakṣmī says she does not deserve all those for she comes of a poor family. In the end, the insistent appeals of the Lord make Lakṣmī open the door and take him in.

Every year, on the occasion of the return journey, this ceremony is observed. 'Devadāsīs' represent Lakṣmī, whereas 'Daitas' represent Jagannātha. In the musical exchange of words, ślokas in Sanskrit are recited and the dialogue continues in the presence of the countless devotees.

Another interpretation as to why Lakṣmī could not accompany the Lord during the car festival to Gundica mandir is given by the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas or the followers of Caitanya. According to them, the Gundica mandir is regarded as Vṛndāvana, while Lord Jagannātha is regarded by them as Lord Kṛṣṇa himself, and this Car Festival is taken as His journey to Vṛndāvan. Vṛndāvan is exclusively the abode of the Gopīs. None else can take part in the Divine sports of the Lord with the Gopīs, let alone Lakṣmī. According to *Srimad Bhāgavata* (X. 16.32 and X. 47.60), Lakṣmī once practised severe penance to take part in the lovely sports of *Rāsa Līlā*. But as she was the Queen of the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha and the Goddess of *Aiśvarya*, she was not allowed. Thus Vṛndāvan is the abode of unmixed *Mādhurya* or unalloyed, pure love.

There is an interesting conversation between Caitanya and Swarūpa Dāmodar Goswāmī narrated in Caitanya Caritāmṛta (Madhyalīlā, Ch. XIV) regarding Lakṣmī, the aggrieved consort of Lord Jagannātha and her intriguing behaviour as she goes to Gundica mandir in a warlike fighting mood rather than nurse her pangs of separation as a *Māninī-Nāyikā*.

Of the twelve festivals held in connection with Lord Jagannātha this occasion is both important and interesting. This is an episode which brings the Gods down to men. They become human beings, whom they themselves created, creatures infused with the same sentiments and same sensitiveness. Thus the Gods assume the garb of human beings and human beings assume the role of the Gods.

The Myth goes further. Once Lord Baḷabhadra became displeased with Lakṣmī when she accepted the offer of worship from an untouchable lady. But Lakṣmī had extracted a promise from Lord Jagannātha at the time of marriage,—the promise to permit her the right to be worshipped by all on Thursdays. On this ground she left the temple. Her anger caused the disappearance of the property of the Lords. Her servants made the temple empty of its precious possessions. Even the precious beds of the Lords were exchanged for ordinary cots. Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra were reduced to street beggars. Even begging could not fill their bellies. They starved. Baḷabhadra realised his folly, accepted food from the hands of Lakṣmī who had become untouchable in the process. The difference between the high and the low was abolished and Lakṣmī returned to the temple. The formidable barriers of casteism were thus overcome in the temple of the Lord.

Besides, another festival known as "Rukmiṇī Haraṇa" is traditionally observed in the temple premises. One of the Sevakas (temple servants) appears as Śiśupāḷa (rival of the lord) and consequent upon the mythical battle between them, he is forcibly dragged by the deity Madanmohan who represents Lord Jagannātha. In an interesting manner Śiśupāḷa's pigtail being tied up in the palanquin of the lord, provides fun and enthusiasm to the devotees around.

NAVAKALEBARA

We have already stated in the chapter on "Icon" that the images are renewed at intervals. The main principle adopted to fix the year of renewal is to find whether that year has two full moons in the month of "*Āṣāḍha*" (July). In every three years a lunar month is excluded from calculation to strike a balance between the lunar and solar years. This period is known as "*Adhimāsa*". Learned men term it "*Malamāsa*".[18] No auspicious rites are conducted in this month. But the religious scriptures describe this "*Adhimāsa*" as the most auspicious time for spiritual attainment and as such, they term it as "*Puruṣottamamāsa*". The gods of the land of Puruṣottama (Purī) undergo the ceremony of *Navakalebara* in the year in which falls this "*Adhimāsa*". This happens generally once in twelve to nineteen years. During the last 100 years, this ceremony was performed only five times in 1863, 1893, 1931 and 1950. After nineteen years this *Adhimāsa* has come again in 1969.

Rites of the Navakalebara :

Commanded by the Gajapati Mahārājā on the tenth Tithi of the full-moon day, in the month of *Caitra, Vidyāpati,* Daitas and the brahmins well versed in the Vedas make preparations to go in search of the "*Dāru*" or tree. After the mid-day "*Dhūpa*" of Lord Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā on *Śukla Daśamī* of *Caitra*, the *Mahapātras* receive the "*Ajñyāmāla*" or the garland as a token of the Lord's permission. Then the *Mahapātras* and four Daitāpatis carry this "*Ajñyāmāla*" or garland to the "*Anabasarapiṇḍi*" where all of them put on new clothes provided for the occasion. Then from the *Jagannātha Ballava Maṭh*, all of them being accompanied by twenty three *Daitāpatis' Deulakaraṇa*, *Taḍhau*, Lenkā, four carpenters, start for the goddess *Maṅgalā* of Kakatpur. The Lenkā carries the Cakra and four Brāhmins, conversant with the Śāstras join them. The *Gajapati Mahārājā* of Purī, after offering auspicious articles such as unboiled rice, cocoanut and pieces of cloth to *Daitāpatis*, makes formal request to start for the forest in search of "*Dāru*". They obtain permission from goddess *Maṅgalā* in a dream before they proceed in four batches to the forest to spot out the Nimba tree. The tree must have four branches undamaged by insects and birds. At the foot of the tree serpents would be seen guarding the tree. There must be a cremation ground and a river in the vicinity. On discovering such a tree, (Plate No. 49) the *Daitāpati* places the garland on the tree. They clean the place around the tree and sprinkle perfumed water on the place. Then they erect a platform and an altar for the performance of *Vana-Jāga* ceremony at the foot of the tree (Plate No. 50). All the four Ācāryas namely *Brahmā*, *Adhwarju*, *Hotā* and *Udgātā* conduct this yajña. *Daitāpati, Vidyāpati* and carpenters participate in this holy fire. The *Daitas* and other attendants sit in meditation for three days. At the end of this *Vana-Yaga* the *Vidyāpati* touches the tree with the golden axe, and then the carpenters begin to cut the tree into logs (Plate No. 51). The trees for making the images of gods are located in different places. These holy logs (*Dāru*) are carried in four wheeled-carts newly built for the purpose. The sacred logs are placed on the cart (Plate No. 52) covered with new silken cloth and then the cart is drawn by the Sevakas and other people in a grand procession towards Purī (Plate No. 53). All the four sacred logs are brought to the temple compound through the northern gate and placed in the *Koili Baikunṭha*. On the *Snāna Pūrṇimā* day, the sacred logs are bathed simultaneously with the old deities. Then they are taken to their sheds named as *Dāru-ghara* (stacks for the sacred log). One hundred and eight Brahmins perform necessary rituals and the construction work of the images begins. No person is allowed to visit this place. After completion, the images are brought to the *Anabasarapiṇḍi* inside the main temple after circumambulation for three times. Then "*Ghaṭa Paribartan*" or transfer of *Brahma* from the old deities into their new counterparts is performed by *Pati Mahāpātra* in the dead of night on the *Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī*. Generally the oldest man among the *Pati Mahāpātras* performs this important ceremony of transferring the mysterious *Brahmas*. However, he is not allowed to touch this *Brahma* with bare hands nor he is permitted to see it. Then the old images along with their beds, pillows, etc. are buried in the wells of *Koili Vaikunṭha* and the *Daitas* observe mourning till the tenth day and on the eleventh day, they perform "*Suddhi Kriyā*" as it is done after the death of a near relation.

There is also a very spectacular system current in the temple of Jagannātha known as *Mahāsnāna* (the grand holy bath). Generally *bhogas* are carried by the Suāras (cooks). They are not to be touched by any one when the *bhogas* are carried inside the temple. They pass through a covered path, with their mouths tied with a piece of cloth. The pots containing the bhogas are placed one on the other and they are carried in bamboo-yokes. If they are touched by some one inside the temple then the *mahāsnāna* will be done again and the entire *bhoga* will be buried.

During the exact time of worship nobody (except the priests and some attendants) is permitted to enter the sanctorum. Now if some one, even a child, creates any sort of nuisance inside the temple then this *mahāsnāna* will recur.

Even a drop of blood seen inside the temple at the time of worship will cause *mahāsnāna*, and every corner of the temple will be cleaned and washed and the *bhogas* buried. Persons committing this nuisance are punished.

If death or a murder is committed inside the temple premises then this *mahāsnāna* takes place again.

At night when all religious services are over and the deities go to bed the main entrance of the temple (Siṁhadvāra) is closed to all. A group of temple servants is empowered to keep on strict vigil over the presence of any one, including the servants, inside the temple at night. All will leave the temple premises at night.

The deities are adorned with different *vesas* (holy costumes) annually. They are more than fifty in number. The most important ones are, (i) *Gaṇeśa Vesa*, (ii) *Gajoḍhāraṇa Vesa* (Plate No 54), (iii) *Baḍasṛṅgār Vesa*, (iv) *Kañcikāveri Vesa* and (v) *Padma Vesa* (Plate No. 55).

REFERENCES

1. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 28, 31, 33.
   The king Anaṅgabhīmadeva introduced Chatisāniyoga.
2. *Man in India*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 1963, pp. 215-216.
   Article under the title "Administration of the Jagannātha Temple, 18th Century" by N. Patnaik—Reports of the Special Officer under the Puri Jagannātha Temple Act, 1952, p. 46.
3. The references have already been given in Chapter II regarding his activities. This king also constructed the 1st prākāra or Meganāḍa Prācir—*Mādalāpāñji*, p. 44.
4. The reference has already been given in Chapter II.
   Pratāprudradeva did some improvement of the Temple. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 53, 55.
5. *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 63, 65.
6. The references have already been given in Chapter II.
7. *Orissa First*, p. 10—Title : Jagannātha the God of the People. Reports of the Special Officer under the Puri Jagannātha Temple Act, 1952, p. 72. Grooms Report on the Temple of

Jagannātha—Copies of Reports by W. G. Webbs and Groom preserved in the Board of Revenue Department, Part VIII, Vol. XII.

8. List of Dresses and ornaments and expenses for several yatras—Reports kept in the office of Board of Revenue Part VIII, Vol. XII, p. 241.

9. Letter written by G. Webb, Collector, Jagannātha Temple to G. H. Barlow—President of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, 19th December, 1807. It is now preserved in the Board of Revenue Office, Cuttack.

10. *The Economic Weekly*, August 10, 1963—"Puri Impact of Socio-Economic Changes on a religious Complex by N. Patnaik.

10a. Samūrtarcadhikarana of Marici. Ch. *LVI*. Ślokas 73-74.

11. *Bṛdhahārita Smṛti*, Ch- VI, ślokas 16.

12. *Viṣṇu Saṁhitā* Patala XX, ślokas 1-8.

Athavaksyami samksepādu tsavasya vidhiṁ paraṁ Sthāpitopi vinā yeno prasīdati. Na-Keśavaḥ Abda mardhaṁ, trimāsamvā māsaṁ pakṣamasṁbhave Navahaṁ vāpi saptāhaṁ pañcahaṁ nĕsyateparaṁ Māghe vā margaśirsevā chaitre vaisākha evavā Pauṣe vā Phālgune kūryā dtsvaṁ bahu vistaraṁ.

13. *Srīkṣetra*, p. 163. The term Pahaṇḍi has been derived from the Sanskrit word Padahuṇḍana —meaning—walking slowly. According to Pandit Binayaka Mishra it has been derived from Praspaṇḍa.

14. Chhāndogya Upanishad, Ch. VI, Section 7-1. The God should take rest for fifteen days.

Soḍaśakalaḥ saumya puruṣaḥ
Pañcadasāhani māsiḥ kāmamāpaḥ
Pibapamayah prāṇo na pibato vichhisyati iti

The transalation of this is given below.

"Man my dear is made up of sixteen kalas (or attributes). For fifteen days, do not take anything; drink as much water as you like since prāṇo consists of water and it will not be off if you drink water. During this Anavasara the deities are offered only water or prapanaka.

15. *Vaikhānasāgama*, Ch. LXV, p. 217.

Akṣi mocanavinā—sarvam nāśāya bhavati
taddosa samanarthaṁ vaiṣṇavaṁ viṣṇusuktam,
puruṣasūktaṁ ekākṣarādi Navagraha daivatyam hutvā
punrakṣimocanaṁ kārayet.

16. *Utsav Vidhi*, pp. 46-47 (Śrī Pañcarātra utsavsaṁgraha), pp. 46, 47, 190 & 191.

17. *Śrīkṣetra* in Bengali, p. 178.

CHAPTER VI

MODE OF WORSHIP

It is necessary to say something about the mode of worship of the formless (*nirākāra*) God of the universe, who must be given some form (*ākāra*) at the time of his ritual of adoration. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa says* :

> "*Prakṛtiṛ vikṛtistasya rūpeṇa puramatmanaḥ*
> *Alaksyam tasya tadrupam prakṛtissā prakirtitā*
> *Sākārā vikṛtirjñeyā tasya sarvam jagatsmṛtaṁ*"

"The supreme spirit has two states of form, the one, the nature of the world (*Prakṛti*), and the other its transformation as appearance (*Vikṛti*). *Prakṛti* is His invisible form. *Vikṛti* is the aspect (*ākāra*) in which he pervades the universe. Worship and meditation can be performed in relation to His *ākāra* aspect only".[1]

There are two kinds of worship known as *Antarvedī* and *Bahirvedī*, as mentioned by the same *Purāṇa* (III. I, 2-3). The worship of God during the performance of sacrifices is called the *Antarvedī*.[2] According to the tradition about Jagannātha already noted, the temple of Jagannātha was constructed after the completion of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by Indradyumna, and the installation of the deity by Brahmā. Then again, the worship is of three kinds : *Mānasī Pūjā* (mental), *Homa Pūjā* and *Berapūjā* (Image worship). Among these three the image worship is commonly the best, since the devotee can perform it with flowers, etc. according to his ability. By this worship his eyes are delighted by the form of the God, and his mind is delighted by the satisfaction of his mind that he has worshipped and seen the formless God in this form. The devotee's devotion becomes stronger and he acquires it early. So among these three kinds of worship, the worship of the image is the best.[3] The worship of the deities in the temple is conducted according to the modes prescribed in such authentic works as *Gopalarcanābidhi* by Puruṣottamadeva, *Nīlādrināthapūjābidhi* by Choḍagaṅgadeva, *Nīlādrimahodaya* by one Niḷādri Pandā and another book called *Durgotsavacandrikā*. The manuscripts of the former two are retained in the Utkal University library.

The worship of Jagannātha in the temple has assumed a very complicated form in the course of time. Just as the conception about the deities developed from age, to age, so also the mode of their ritualistic worship has developed. It appears that there was a progressive assimilation of the fundamentals of the earlier modes with the later modes of worship. For example, although, at the present time, the images are conceived on the *paurāṇic* lines of thought and the *dhyānas* and *mantras* are mostly addressed to the *paurāṇic* deities, still the vedic modes of *praṇava* worship and the tāntric modes of *yantra* worship and *vījamantra* worship are also there.

Jagannātha is worshipped at present not only by the ten-syllabled Mantra, "*Oṁ Gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*", but also by the eighteen syllabled one "*Oṁ Klīm Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya Gopījanavallabhāya Namaḥ*". This "*Oṁ*" *or* "*Praṇava*" is the reminiscent of the vedic strand ; *Klīm* is indicative of the tāntric one; while the other aspects of the *mantras* emphasise the paurāṇic and Vaiṣṇavite forms. The sign of coordination is not only noticeable in such *mantras* but it is also noticeable in other characteristic forms of the composite worship.

The modes of worship are partly vedic, partly tāntric and partly paurāṇic. The vedic part consists of the veneration paid to the symbol Praṇava—the symbol of Brahma. The tāntric tradition evolved various *nyāsas*, such as *ṣaḍaṅganyāsa*, *Keśavādiṇyāsa*, *Śṛṣtistithisaṁhāranyāsa*, *Mātṛkānyāsa*, *etc*., *yantras* such as Śrī and Bhuvaneśvarī, *Kriyās* (Mudrās) and *Bījamantras*. It is also to be noted that the *yogic-tāntric* system of impaling the *satcakras* (*Satcakrabheda*) of the body is also given an important part in the mode of worship. The appropriate *Dhyānas* and *Mantras* propounded by the paurāṇic tradition explain the form, the nature, the character and the power of the images. The inherent power of the images that are worshipped and meditated upon fulfils the desired object of the devotee according to his deserts.

The conception of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā as well as Sudarśana seems to have originated from the yogic-tāntric system and developed into the paurāṇic and Vaiṣṇavite setting. Even though the images are seen in four different forms they are treated as one and the same, and that is why at the time of daily worship three priests simultaneously perform the rites according to the tradition.

In earlier times the deities were probably not taken as separate entities but simply as the varying symbols of one deity called Brāhmaṇ or Puruṣottama. It is thus logical to assert that there is no ground to consider the deities and their images as separate entities. The four deities being two males, one female and the remaining one (Sudarśana) as male-female. This division of the forms into males and a female seems to have been a later feature of the cult. This is partly confirmed by the fact that Rāmānujācārya, the great *visistādvaitist*, could think of imposing the pāñcarātra form of worship[4] in the temple of Jagannātha or naming the deities according to the caturvyūha system as given in the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra of the 16th century.[5]

According to this interpretation (also supported by Brahma Purāṇa) the four deities Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana respectively stand for Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the four primary *vyūhas* of the early pāñcarātrins.[6] But the order of placing the four images on the Ratnavedī, does not correspond to the order of the caturvyūhas, because here they are placed as Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana. If one of the forms is a female form, such as Subhadrā—then it is unthinkable that the followers of pāñcarātra school could contemplate the conversion of it into a male form and support the conversion of the uniconic symbol of Sudarśana into Aniruddha *Vyūha*. So there seems to be some deeper reason why the mode of worship at this temple should be regarded as being originally a symbol or *praṇava worship*. We have said that the four *mātrās* of *Praṇava* or the four *pādas* of Brāhmaṇ, explained in the *vedas* or in the *upaniṣadas* came to assume various names and forms with corresponding *dhyānas*, *Praṇava mantras* and *nyāsas* in subsequent stages.

The conception of Jagannātha as *Dāru* brahma and the carving of the image into wooden form lend additional support to this argument. The three images are carved in wood not because stone and metals were not available, but because there was no traditional sanction in support of the representation of these forms in stone or metal. There is not only rigorous injunction that the figures would be cut in wood but also there is a special mention of the type of wood out of which these figures are to be carved. This tradition is rigorously followed even today when the occasion arises for the renewal of the images generally every twelve years. So naturally the question arises why there should be so much stress on carving the figures in wood. The worship of the wooden forms as we have in the temple of Jagannātha cannot be confused with the aboriginal form of worship of mere wood or tree. The fact is that here is "wood worship" and not exactly the tree worship. It has been said in the previous chapter how attempts were made to transform Dāru worship into Brāhmaṇ worship and how this passed through many stages.

Scholars are of opinion, however, that the earlier worshippers of Jagannātha were Śabaras and thus Jagannātha in one of his aspects was a Śabara deity.[7] Some also want to connect it with the totem worship of the Śabaras.

The concept of Dāru Brahma raises an important question and, in this context, reference to *Praṇava* becomes indispensable. So Brāhmaṇ and *Praṇava* were identified as one.

The *Utkal Khaṇḍa* of *Skandapurāṇa* makes an illuminating suggestion[8]. It describes Lord Puruṣottama as "*Praṇava rūpī*" (Plate No. 56) and His Mantra is *Praṇava*. "*Nīlādri Mahodaya*" also supports this by explaining the idea more elaborately[9]. *Praṇava* has three relatively complete *mātrās* and one half *mātrā*, which is "Nāda Bindu" and it is attached to Jagannātha. He is, therefore, addressed as "Nāda bindu Samanvita". *Akāra* is the first *mātrā* which is on the petals ; "*U*" *kāra* is the second *mātrā* which is in the interior side, and "*Ma*" *kāra* is the third *mātrā* and is situated at the root. *Ardha mātrā* is the *karṇa* itself. There is no wonder therefore that this *Ardha mātrā* is called Subhadrā.

As has been said before, in the temple of Jagannātha three priests usually perform the worship simultaneously (Plate No. 57) and there is not a fourth one, although the main images are four. The reason is that the fourth form is *Jyoti Brahma* or the *Turīya* or the Nirākāra[10], and it cannot be directly worshipped but is worshipped only in the three manifest forms. Sudarśana, the symbol of *Jyoti Brahma* or *Turīya*, is "*Arūpa*" or formless ; so no specific form has been given to it. It is the soul of the universe. It represents the absolute Oneness or Unity of Being and at *Turīya* stage there cannot be any distinction between the subject and the object—between the *Upāsya* and *Upāsaka*. The fourth stage is misrepresented if any distinction is brought there. This is the reason why no worshipper sits before Sudarśana. Sudarśana is in that stage, from where all mundane words withdraw and it remains inaccessible to sense perception or mental representation.

Now it will be very interesting to discuss here the existing mode of worship in detail. According to *Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra*[11] and *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, the worship should be performed in three different ways such as Vedic, Tāntric and *Miśra* (mixed) mode. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says[12]—

vaidikastāntriko miśra iti me
trividhoh makhaḥ
trayeṇāmīpsitenaiva vidhinā māṁ
samarcayet

The *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* quoting from the *Mahābhārata* says—

"Āmnāyāgamavedāya śuddhabudhāya te namaḥ"[13]

Here the word *Āmnāya* means *veda* and *Āgama* means *Tantra*. So the best way of worshipping the Lord is the mixed form of worship, both vedic and tāntric. The Bhāgavata further notes that 'those who are desirous of attaining *mokṣa* should worship the Lord in both ways, vedic and tāntric'[14]. It is clear therefore that the mixed worship conducted at the Jagannātha temple is based on authoritative texts.

The daily worship of Jagannātha starts from the early morning and lasts till late hours at night. The deity Jagannātha is offered all the *Upacāras* of a god as well as a king. That is to say he has been conceived as a superman.

Early morning the first item begins with the *Dunduvi Vādya* (sounding of drums), then the Vitarcho Mohāpātra, a temple servant comes and examines the seal of the main door (Jaya Vijaya Dvāra). After satisfying himself about the condition of the seal, he along with *Pāliā mekāp, Pratihāri, Akhaṇḍa-mekāp* and *Muduli* opens the main door. After this he, with a lamp, inspects everything upto the place where the images are installed in order to ascertain whether there is any impure thing or not. He then breaks the seal of the *garbhagṛha* and opens the door of the same. They then go up together to the *Siṁhāsana* saying "*Maṇimā*" "*Maṇimā*" (Oh Lord, Oh Lord) and keep the lamps burning at both the sides. They then remove the tender cocoanut, perfumed water, betel nut etc. offered to the gods previous night and restore them to the store house. Here then the *stotras* are recited.

The next item follows with *Maṅgalārātrika* i.e. showing to the Deity twenty-one lamps fed with ghee followed by *pistakārati*. During this time "*Suprabhāt-stotrams*" (auspicious hymns to rouse the Deity) are recited and auspicious instrumental music (maṅgalavādyaṁ) is played by the Vaiṣṇavas. Thus the Deities are awakened. Taḍapas (a kind of dress) are supplied. Then the old clothings are removed and new clothings are given. After this start other daily rites, namely—washing the teeth and cleaning the tongue (*Dantadhāvana* and *jihvāllekhana*). During the time of *Abhiṣeka* the painted wooden images are not actually bathed. They are reflected in three mirrors and the water is poured on the reflections of the deities in those mirrors only. Then again the deities are dressed in new clothings and decked with ornaments and garlands. All these ritualistic performances are known as *Avakāśa*.

Then the public is allowed to have a sight (*darśana*) as well as a touch (*sparśana*) of the images. Thus, the deities are thrown open to the public access. This is called in Oriya as *Sāhānamelā* (*Sādhāraṇamelā* or *sādhāraṇa-darśana* or public visit). After this the deities are again dressed with new clothes.

Then the kitchen is cleaned and *homa* is performed according to the Vaiṣṇava rites and the cooking starts. Then the worship of the Sun and the

Dvārapālas is performed. The next item, the breakfast of the deities, is called *Gopāl Ballabha* or *Bāla bhoga.* It contains edible offerings such as Suāmandā, *Pāpudi, Butter, curd,* fried paddy (*Khai*), *Korā* (prepared with cocoanut), cocoanut *pācedi,* plantains other ripe seasonal fruits, green cocoanut, other kinds of cold *bhogas* (śītala bhoga), and betel.

Generally these bhogas are offered between 7.30 A.M. and 8 A.M. at the *Anabasara Piṇḍi.* After this *Bāla bhoga,* the temple is cleaned from the *Garbhagṛha* upto the *Candana Argalī.* Then a curtain (known as *Terā*) is put on the *Candana Argalī* to prevent others from seeing the deities. Now starts the morning worship called the *sakāladhūpa* or the first *dhūpa.* It consists of offerings to the deities, the sixteen *upacāras* (items of offerings) called (*ṣoḍaśopacārapūjā*)[15]. This time *pūjā* is performed in five places indicated by five *ālpanās.* The priest who performs the *pūjā* to Jagannātha also performs the *pūjā* to Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātrī (Bhūdevī) and Sudarśana. Other two priests worship Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā respectively. Then the twenty-course *Bhogas* are offered to the deities. Some new features are to be seen in this *Bhoga.* They are, offerings of umbrella, fanning with *cāmara* (fly-whisk), and dance and music by Devadāsīs accompanied with instrumental music. This Bhoga is offered inside the *Garbhagṛha* before the *Ratnavedī.* Next the dresses of the deities are changed. This ritual is called *Mailamlāgi.* The item that follows just after this is called *Catrabhoga* or *Maṇḍapabhoga* or *Bhāndhabhoga* offered at the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* behind the *Garuḍa pillar.* The offering of the five items called the *Pañcopacāra*—sandal paste, flowers, *dhūpa, lamp, Naivedya* (eatables) etc. are made during this type of worship. This *Bhoga* is meant for the public and the Maṭhas alike.

Madhyāhna Bhoga or mid-day meal :

This is called the 2nd *dhūpa* or the 2nd *bhoga.* There are fifty-six kinds of *bhogas* generally offered to the deities. But more items of *bhogas* numbering above hundred are also offered. Then the dresses of the deities are changed and three palanquins are brought and kept before the images. By the side of the palanquins, betel, green cocoanut and perfumed water are also kept. After this the *Karpūra-ārati* is performed. This is the indication of the deities going to take the mid-day rest. Then the doors are sealed. In the evening just as in the early morning Bhitorchho Mohāpātra inspects the seal of the door and opens it. This is followed by the Sandhyā ārati.

Then begins *Sandhyā dhūpa* or the evening worship. *Ārati* is performed and this is followed by a change of dress. The deities are worshipped according to *ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā.* During this *pūjā, Ārati* is performed four times. After the

Sandhyā dhūpa the deities are dressed in silken garments and sandal paste is applied to them. This is called *Candanalāgi.* Then the recitation of the Gītagovinda accompanied with the melody of the Vīṇā and other musical instruments is done. Then starts the *Baḍasiṁhāraveśa* gorgeously luxuriant dress. Various *bhogas* are also offered to the deities. During this ritualistic performance the deities are decorated with flower crests, *Candrikā* etc. and especially the *tulasī* garland is offered to them. Like other previous worships various *bhogas* are offered to god Jagannātha during this time. This *Baḍasiṁhāraveśa* is mainly done with flowers. Just like the afternoon rituals three palanquins are brought, and green-cocoanut, perfumed water, etc. are placed near them. To prevent mosquitoes *dhūpas* are offered; after Puṣpāḷaka, puṣpāñjaḷi is offered; the *utsava* image of Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa (Ardhanārīśvara) is put on the palanquin and offered green-cocoanut, betel nut etc. Then the *utsava-bera* is placed on a *Dambaru āsana* near the Jayavijaya dvāra. Next *Karpurāratī* is offered along with recitation of the Gītagovinda accompanied with dance by the devadāsīs. Another feature of the Sandhyā Pūjā is that the king of Purī or one of his representatives presents himself with golden stick in hand, and the Praharāja (the chief priest of the Rājā) chants the veda *mantras*. Then the Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa image is brought near the store. At night, the ceremony consists of the following :—Putting out the lamp (*Akhaṇḍa dīpa*), uttering of "*Maṇimā*", "*Maṇimā*" by *Pāliā Pratihar*, closing of doors, sealing the lock of the door with mud along with the seal of Madanamohana by *Terachho Mohāpātra*. This shows that the gods go to bed after this.

It is necessary here to describe in detail the daily worship (nityapūjā) performed by the priests. Before they begin the actual worship, they perform certain rites which are based on Vedic and Tāntric principles, without which they are not eligible for the *pūjā* ceremony. They should first of all utter initiatory *mantras* in the prescribed form. Thus they become worthy of performing the act of worship. Then they should perform the *Sandhyā*, Vedic as well as Tāntric. After this they are to recite proper *mantras* for the Vedic and Tāntric mode of *snāna* of the deities. The *Veda* mantras are chanted during Vedic *snāna* and the Tāntric *mantras* are chanted during the Tāntric *snāna*. Now the priests perform the Saṁkalpa saying "I am performing the bath for the sake of Gopijanaballabha Kṛṣṇa". After this he is to invoke all the sacred rivers to give water in order to be used for this *snāna* (bathing). Then the rites of *Amṛtī karaṇa* (making him full of nectar) along with *Avaguṇṭhana* (covering) and *Saṁrakṣaṇa* (protecting) etc. are performed. Then invocation to sun and moon, meditation on their *Iṣṭadevatā* and chanting of the *Mūlamantra* are done.

The next items of the *Pūjā* are the *Ācamana*, *Sadāṅga nyāsa* or touching the parts of his body at six places—heart, head, tuft, two eyes and centre of fore-head. Then *kavaca* and chanting of *ekajaṭā mantra* follow. With the chanting of the *Ekajaṭā mantra* the water from the left hand is brought to the right hand and it is sprinkled for 7 times on the priests' heads, the rest of the water being thrown on the *Vajraśilā*. After this the *arghyas* are offered to the Sun God with chanting of the *Gāyatrīmantra*. Then follows *tarpaṇa*, Vedic as well as Tāntric. Invocation to Vaiṣṇavi Śaktis and tarpaṇa to Kṛṣṇa, *Gurupatnī*, as well as *Iṣṭadevatās* are performed. Preceptors—*guru*, *paramaguru* and *parātparaguru* and noted Vaiṣṇavas, Nārada, Uddhava etc. are also invoked. It is interesting to note that during the course of worship the *tarpaṇa* is conducted twenty-five times, or ten times or three times with chanting of the Mūla mantra, saying "I perform *tarpaṇa* to Kṛṣṇa". After this item is finished, the worshipping of three śaktis namely Brāhmaṇī, Vaiṣṇavī and Rudrānī is performed in the morning, afternoon and evening respectively. After 'Sūryanamaskāra' the priests proceed towards the deities to do *ācamana* according to the Vaiṣṇava principles. Then the *pañca viṁśati mātrika Nyāsa* is performed, the religious marks (*Tilaka*) are put on the foreheads, the nine śaktis (*Dīpti*, *Sūkṣmā*, *Jayā*, *Bhadrā*, *Bibhūti*, *Vimalā*, *Amoghā*, *Vidyutā* and *Sarvotamukhī*) are worshipped on the eight petals (aṣṭa-dala) and central pericarp (Karṇikā) of the lotus, the seat of the Sun God. After this begins the invocation of Yogapīṭha, the seat of the Sun as representing the gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and others. Then the deities called *āvaraṇa devatās* installed in the different parts of the enclosures are worshipped in the usual manner. Next starts the worship of the *Dvārapālas* (door-keepers). After taking the permission from the Dvārapālas starts the worship of the main deities. They are worshipped as usual according to the previous pattern. That is to say the priests should undergo all sorts of *dhyānas*, *mantras*, *Nyāsas*, *upacāras*, in connection with the worship of the deities. After the invocation of the Bhairava with the mantra "*Atikāru Mahā Kayā*" etc. they sit at the right hand side of the deities in *Svastika āsana* facing the north. Then they begin to worship the main deities namely Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā in the usual manner.

The Lord Jagannātha is worshipped according to *Aṣṭākṣari*, (eight syllabled), *Daśākṣarī* (ten syllabled) and *aṣṭādaśākṣarī* (eighteen syllabled) *mantras* during morning, afternoon and evening (also night) respectively. The general invocation or *dhyānas* of the Lord Jagannātha is performed according to the *prapañcasāratantra* and mainly the *prapañcasārasaṁgraha*--Paṭala XVII, p. 482. Here the Lord is considered and worshipped as Kṛṣṇa in various aspects. The morning meditation conceives him as he was in his infancy (vālagopāla), his abode is at Gopa—he is two armed. During mid-day (Madhyāhna) he is meditated as a youthful god Kṛṣṇa seated under *Kalpa vṛkṣa* (wish-giving tree). His abode is at Vṛndāvana, playing on flute and surrounded by *gopas*, *gopīs* and cows. He is also two armed. In the evening (*sandhyā*) he conceived as seated in the garden of Dvārakā inside the *maṇḍapa*. He is four-armed and his abode is Dvārakā. At night he is meditated as one described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa during the famous *rāsakṛīḍā*. He is four-armed.

Baḷabhadra is worshipped in the Dvādaśākṣara mantra (twelve syllabled mantra) *Oṁ, Namo bhagavate vāsudevāya* and also he is worshipped with the hymns of *Puruṣasukta* since he is treated as *Virāṭa*.[15b]

Subhadrā is worshipped as Bhuvaneśwarī in *ekākṣara mantra* "*Oṁ 'Hrīṁ' Bhuvaneśvaryaī Namaḥ*". To establish the *praṇava* worship and to make the deities common for all sects, the worship has been prescribed according to the Hari-Hara cult. She is also worshipped in the Śrī and Devī sūktas. Sudarśana is worshipped in *saptākṣara* or seven-syllabled mantra. His mantra is "*Oṁ Sahasrārahrung Phaṭ*".

It is interesting that in the worship of three deities the *Praṇava Nyāsa* and *mantra* are invariably used. The *Nyāsa mantra* of *Praṇava* is as follows : (This is according to *Nilādrināṭhasya Pūjāvidhi*) followed in the temple.

> "*Oṁ akāra sattvaguṇaṁ suklavarṇam Namaḥ nabhau*
> *Oṁ U kāra rajoguṇaṁ raktavarṇam Namaḥ Hrudaye*
> *Oṁ Makāra tamoguṇaṁ Kṛṣṇa varṇaṁ Namaḥ mūṛdhni*"

The three syllables *A, U, Ma* stand for Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha respectively and their colour is the same as that of the above syllables of *Praṇava nyāsa*. There is no wonder that the different colours of the deities have been conceived according to the *Nyāsa mantra*.

It is important to mention here that a close study of Prapañcasāra, Meru and Sāradā-Tilaka including other tāntric texts[16] reveals that the Bhuvanesvarī cult was adopted and prescribed perhaps by Śaṅkarācārya to please all sects. By the introduction of this cult the Vaiṣṇavas take their Supreme God as Hari (Viṣṇu, Jagannātha), the Śaivites as Hara (Baḷabhadra) and the Śāktas as Goddess Bhuvanesvarī. In the Govardhana *maṭha* even though the *Ardhanārīśvara liṅga* is installed, the main deity is Gopālakṛṣṇa. There is a large number of Hari-Hara images and temples in Orissa. As regards the images—one carved on the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam and the other at Hariśaṁkar in the Bolangir district in Orissa may be cited. This cult became so popular in course of time as to influence the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara, where we see the remnant of the cult still existing. For example on the Garuḍa pillar both a *Bull* and a *Garuḍa* are placed. On the top of the temple there is *Pināka Dhanu* instead of *Triśūla.*

The twin temple at Gandharādi is the finest specimen of Harihara temple in Orissa (Plate No. 58), the date of which has been fixed as the 8th century A.D. The emblems are on the top of the temple. The Śiva *Liṅga* is on the top of the shrine belonging to Śiva Siddheśvara and the Cakra is seen on the crest of the Viṣṇu temple (Nīlamādhava).

For detailed information about the mode of ritualistic worship prevalent in the temple of Jagannātha the palm-leaf *pothi—Gopālārcanavidhi* of Puruṣottama Deva may be consulted. This temple was visited on pilgrimage by almost all the Ācāryas of different schools of thought. But only Śaṅkarācārya has been given more prominence and his picture is kept on the Nāṭamandira. This affirms that Śaṅkarācārya was the man who enjoined that worship in the temple of Purī. It is said that Rāmānujācārya the founder of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School visited Purī and influenced the king to adopt the *pāñcarātra* system of worship in the temple, but could not succeed. For this reason another temple known as "Āllvaranātha Temple" (Plate No. 28) was built at Brahmagiri, a place 14 miles away from Purī and the system of worship is strictly based on the *pāñcarātra* system. It is now under the supervision of the Emāra maṭha, another famous *maṭha* of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School.

We have already stated in the chapter on "Administration" that the Muktimaṇḍapa is the seat of justice for deciding the religious disputes. The Śaṅkarācārya of the Govardhanamaṭha of Purī presides over such occasions and judgments are delivered under his signature and seal. While employing the temple priests the king is to ask them to produce necessary certificates of fitness from the Śaṅkarācārya of the Govardhana *Maṭha*. A marble statue of Śaṅkarācārya is still seen in the said maṭha (Plate No. 37). This proves that Śaṅkarācārya came to Purī and introduced some changes into this cult. The tradition goes that the *aṣṭaka* called *Jagannāthāṣṭaka* so popular in Orissa was composed by Śaṅkarācārya. This has been included in the Śaṅkarācārya Granthāvali.[17] According to some this is the work of the famous Saint Caitanya.

Another interesting feature seen in the ritualistic worship in the Jagannātha temple is the tāntric *pañcamakāra* mode which is partly adhered to. But the *pañcamakāras* are identified in a manner that divests the individual items of the gross sensuality. The *pañcamakāras* are, as is well-known—(1) *Matsya* (fish), (2) *Māṁsa* (meat), (3) *Madya* (wine), (4) *Mudrā* (money) and (5) *Maithuna* (sexual inter-course). The first Matsya is substituted for green vegetables cooked with *Hingu* (asafœtida). The second i.e. *Māṁsa* consists of the preparation of *Ada pacidi* (Ginger). The third i.e. '*Madya*' substituted for green cocoanut water offered in the bellmetal vessel. The fourth i.e. *Mudrā* consists of a pudding prepared with sugar and flour (mixture) named as *Kānti*. The fifth i.e. *Maithuna* which consists of peculiar kind of dancing by *Devadāsis* (*utkachanṛtya*). But according to some this maithuna aspect is represented by the *Aparājitā* flower. This flower is conceived as Yoni. This shows that the tāntric features are sublimated in the pure form at Jagannātha worship with the help of these *Anukalpas* (substitutes). It is interesting that the *śākta* mode of sacrifice of rams etc. before the goddess *Vimalā* is also made. It is only thrice in a year during the Mahāṣṭamī tithi of the autumnal worship of the goddess *Vimalā*, the animal sacrifice is made for three days. She is also offered fish from the *Saptamī* tithi upto *Navamī* as she is conceived as Durgā. It is a noticeable feature that Nṛsiṁha is the guardian deity of the temple and all the performances beginning from pūjā to cooking are preceded by offering to Nṛsiṁha first. It has a deeper significance. Nṛsiṁha is the emblem of Brahma as propounded in the Nṛsiṁha Tāpini Upaniṣada where Nṛsiṁha has been described as Brahma i.e. Indeterminate Being of whom Jagannātha is the Determinate form.

The Lord Jagannātha is all pervading and He combines in Himself all the main five Hindu deities namely *Nārāyaṇa*, *Rudra*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Sūrya* and *Durgā*. When He is on the *Ratna Siṁhāsana* of His temple, He is Nārāyaṇa ; during the *Nabakalevara* ceremony, he is considered as Rudra ; during the *Snāna Yātrā*, he is conceived as *Gajānan*, (Gaṇeśa) ; at the time of car-festival, he is taken to be *Sūryanārāyaṇa* ; while enjoying the divine slumber (*Sayana Yātrā*), he becomes a Durgā. Thus all the main deities of Hinduism are considered to have been merged in Him. Thus, He is represented as a supreme God to Śaibites, Śāktas, Ganapatyas, Sauras and Vaiṣṇavas. In Orissa, the five sacred signs at Mahāvinayaka, Konārka, Purī, Viraja (at Jājpur) and Liṅgarāja (Bhubaneśwar) are centres for Pañcadevatās the five deities, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Śiva respectively.

Just as the Jagannātha Cult is an assimilation of the various forms of religion and modes of worship, so also it merges within itself the different systems of philosophy. In particular, in the ritual and day to day worship are traced the impact of the systems like *abheda*, *bheda*, *bhedābheda* and *acintyabhedābheda*. For instance, there is the feeling of *abheda* in the acceptance of *mahāprasād* by one and all. There is also the concept of *bheda* regarding the *naivedya* before it is offered to the deities in so far as it cannot be touched and seen by any one except the chosen *Supakaras*. Further, there is the idea of *bhedābheda* in respect of the water used in worshipping the lords. It is brought to the temple by Śūdras but carried to the Ratnavedī by *Garābaḍus*, who are brāhmiṇs. Lastly, the concept of *Acintya-bhedābheda* as discernible in the rituals of *Nabakalevara* which occurs once in every twelve years or even nineteen years. The Daitās, who are the descendants of the family of the Śabara chief *Viśvavāsu*, assist in carving the images of the deities and are identified as kinsmen of the lord. At the sametime they are not entitled to worship the deities nor are they permitted to decorate them with dresses and ornaments proper to the rituals. These apparently contradictory ritualistic practices offer a unique mystery to one at the outset, but viewed in the perspective of the co-ordination of different cultures and religions that has taken place at *Jagannāthapīṭha*, they only help to establish how different systems of philosophy were merged in the cult.

It would be interesting to say something about the lighting system in the temple of Jagannātha. The lighting arrangement of the Jagannātha temple is quite systematic. Lamps are burnt day and night inside the temple but the burning of *Maśāla* is a speciality in the Jagannātha temple. This *Maśāla* is burnt in differnt places in the Jagannātha temple on different occasions. The lamps (*dīpa*) are also burnt on the *Garuḍa stambha*. This *Maśāla* is of three kinds—(1) *Maśāla Dihudi* (Plate No. 59), (2) *Cakradihudi* (Plate No. 60) and (3) *Chamudihudi*. The sevakas of the Śūdra caste use *Maśāla* and *Cakradihudi* whereas the Brāhmiṇ sevakas use *Chamudihudi*.

The oil lamps with til oil and *salitā* (cotton thread) are always burnt inside the temple. From *Jaya Vijaya dvāra* to *Kalāhāta* (near the store) nine lamps are burnt, and from *Kalāhāta* to *Simhāsaṇa* twenty-seven lamps are burnt. The numbers Nine and Twenty-seven represent the nine planets and twenty-seven stars respectively.

The handle of *Deuḍimaśāla* is made of brass, the tip of which is bound with clothes. It is soaked in oil and is lit up with fire. With this it goes on burning for a number of hours. Whenever there is a shortage of oil it is again soaked with oil from the oil-pot called *Kāhāli*.

The handle of *Cakradeuḍimaśāla* is made of iron. Towards the tip of the handle there is a round disc which has several peaks, five or seven in number, covered with clothes. Oil is poured on them and they are lighted. They are used at the time of special processions or on special occasions. The *deuḍimaśālas* are especially meant for the processions of the deities.

Six *Akhaṇḍa Dīpas* or perpetual lamps are burnt on two sides of the *Ratnasimhāsana* on a *Stambha* (pillar) three on each side. The *Mahādīpas* are offered during the month of *Mārgaśīra* in the tithis like *Trayodaśī*, *Amāvasyā* and *Pratipad*. One of the temple servants known as *Chunarā* goes up to the top of the three sections namely Jagamohana, Nāṭamandira and Viman and lights the lamps. He moves on the top thrice with the lamps and then sets them down. Thereafter follows a kind of fire-work known as Çandraudia. Thus, he hoists the lamps wishing prosperous life for the king.

REFERENCES

1. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch. XLVI, pp. 2-3.
2. Ibid. III, Ch. I, pp. 2-3.
3. Lakṣmītantram, p. 23.
4. Prapannāmṛta, Ch. XXXV-XXXVI, Ślokas 5-7.
5. Tīrthacintāmaṇī—Vācaspati Miśra, p. 65
6. According to Pāñcarātra Āgama the order is Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha.
7. Hindu Mythology Vedic & Paurāṇic—W. J. Wilkins, pp. 254-55.
8. Utkal Khaṇḍa (Skanda Purāṇa), Ch. XXIV, Ślokas 14-15

   Etistutvā sureśanaṁ devaṁ praṇava-rūpiṇaṁ
   Pranataḥ praṇavaṁ mantraṁ jajāpa purato Hareḥ.
9. Nīlādrimahodaya, Ch. LX, pp. 406-408 and Ch. LXI, pp. 409-410 and Prācinutkala, p. 476.

   Sarvavedeṣu mantreṣu nāyako yaḥ pariskṛtaḥ
   Praṇava praṇatānāmtu vavarṇāve vidārāṇaḥ.
   Tri mātrā śārdhamātrāśca
   Bindunāda samanvitaḥ.
10. Regarding Sudarśana Yaśovanta Dạs says in his Prema Bhakti Brahmagitā, Ch. V, p. 37.

    "Pāruśe sudarśana yati
    Se mahāśūnya Brahmajyoti."
11. Paraśurāmakaḷpasūtra quoted in Kauḷamārgarahasya, pp. 96-97.
12. Bhāgavata, Ch. XI, 27/7.
13. Paraśurāmakaḷpasūtra quoted in Kouḷamārgarahasya, pp. 96-97.
14. Bhāgavat, Ch. VIII, 6/9..
15. D.H.I., Ch. II, p. 36. & Monier William's Religious thoughts and life in India, pp. 411-16.

15a. Nīladrimohodaya, Ch. V, p. 52.

16a. Prapañcāsārasaṅgraha, pp. 275-278.
Detail Worship of Bhubanesvarī Paṭala XI, pp. 305-306.

16b. Prapañcāsāra-tantra, Ch. X, Śloka 1.

17. The works of Saṅkarācārya, Vol. XVIII, Ch. II—Published by Vānīvilas Press, Śrirangaṁ.
18. Pañcopāsanā—J. N. Banerjea, p. 275.

CHAPTER VII

THEOLOGY

Part—I : History & Development

The theological concept centering round the deities—Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana developed through ages. This can be subdivided thus. First, from 350 A.D. to 500 A.D. when the Māṭhara kings were ruling over Kaliṅga, and the shrine of their personal deity Nārāyaṇa was possibly situated on the Mahendra mountain. Then from 500 A.D. upto 750 A.D. during the dynasties of the early Gaṅgas and the Śaiḷodbhavas when the concept of the composite God Puruṣottama Jagannātha was further developed ; then between the middle of the eighth century A.D. and about the middle of the 11th century A.D. when Orissa was under the Bhauma and Somavaṁśī monarchs ; and lastly from the 11th century A.D. onwards when Jagannātha and other deities were being worshipped by the Imperial Gaṅgas, Sūryavaṁśī rulers and others. Thus the process went on.

There is every likelihood that during these periods the concept of the deities was being developed and re-orientated by different groups of their worshippers. The Māṭharas described themselves in their inscriptions, as *Nārāyaṇa pādabhaktas* and conceived the main deity as Nārāyaṇa. The early Gaṅgas (Eastern Gaṅgas) named it as *Gokarṇeśvara*, a name of *Śiva*, for they were Śaivas. The Śaiḷodbhavas conceived the same deity as *Svāyambhū* (Brahmā-Śiva). The Bhauma-Karas who were Buddhists, thought that this god was Jagannātha which was another form of Buddha. It was the Imperial Gaṅgas who became devout Vaiṣṇavas in course of time, and gave due importance to the already existing concept of Puruṣottama Jagannātha with his three companions Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. It has already been shown in the first chapter how separate deities like *Maṇināga* and *Stambheśvarī* appear to have been intimately associated with Puruṣottama Jagannātha in course of time. Another concept of Ekānaṁśā, the sister of Baḷabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, appears also to have contributed to the development of the concept of the composite deity of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. The theology of Jagannātha as found today, developed actually during the Gaṅga and Sūryavaṁśī periods. It was during this period that some Mahāyānist elements mixed with tāntricism were combined with the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite ideologies and gave rise to a new theological conception of the Jagannātha cult.

Leading philosophers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānūja, Mādhava and Naraharitīrtha made great contributions towards the development of this theology.[1] The *tantra-yoga* system of the cult seems to have been derived from the Nātha cult. The Hari-Hara cult that was developing in Orissa from the early medieval period reflected to a considerable extent its tenets in the cult of Jagannātha.[2] The śākta tāntric elements are also noticed in ritualism as well as theological ideas about the cult of the deity. While Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra together stood for the idea of Hari-Hara, Subhadrā stood for śākta and tāntric ideas; she is not only Bhairavī but also Bhuvaneśvarī, while Jagannātha is regarded as a Bhairava and Bhuvaneśvara. The deity Baḷabhadra is sometimes considered as Śiva and sometimes as Ananta or the serpent—thus representing the Nāga Cult.[3] But essentially he is a paurāṇic God, Haḷadhara as conceived by the Vaiṣṇavas, being the bucolic deity. The theology of the cult of Jagannātha thus represents an amalgam, and its different aspects are discussed below.[4]

With the accession of Choḍagaṅga, Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant faith in Orissa. It centred round the conception of Jagannātha and may be called 'Jagannāthism'. A peculiar Vaiṣṇavism developed at that time and might be called an eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism that prevailed in medieval Orissa.[5] It did not completely eclipse Śaivism and Buddhism and Śakti worship, rather it assimilated certain ideas from these faiths.

When we come to the age of Sāraḷā Dāsa and then that of the *Pañcaśakhās* of Oriya literature we see various conceptions developed during this period. The advent of Caitanya gave a new impetus to Orissan Vaiṣṇavism.[6] These *Pañcaśakhās* are the five associates of Caitanya who was a great reformer. But peculiarly enough these associates of Caitanya conceived these four forms of Purī in various ways and some amount of Buddhistic principles were also noticed in their ideologies, although Buddhism was given a death blow as soon as the Bhaumakaras' rule was extinct from the land.[7]

The second half of the 15th century[8] is generally regarded as the formative period of the new ideology of the Jagannātha cult. It had its finest florescence in the 16th century, when the five great associates—Baḷarāma, Jagannātha, Yaśovanta, Ananta and Acyuta appeared and gave it a noble exposition. These five associates of Śrī Caitanya preached the gospel of devotion based on knowledge and Yoga in preference to the doctrine of emotional love and faith as professed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. Their contributions to the Cult of Jagannātha are so great that these five poet-sages are not only regarded as the five elements constituting Jagannātha, but also are considered sometimes as the very essence of the Lord,—a living god enshrined in the hearts of the children of the soil. 'The Muslims now and then disturbed the visible Jagannātha but they were totally powerless against the invisible one'. This invisible Jagannātha is no doubt the ideology of the Jagannātha cult that not only pervaded the whole of Orissa, but also inspired the Hindus of India during the Islamic rule.[9]

Of the post-pañcasakhā philosophers who popularised the tenets of the Jagannātha cult in Orissa in the most trying period of her history, mention may be made of Divākaradāsa, the author of *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, Haridāsa, the writer of "*Mayūra Candrikā*", Govindabhañjā, of "*Caraṇa Sudhānidhi*", Nanda Dāsa, of "*Anākāra Saṁhitā*", Ratnākara Dāsa of "*Sārasvata Gītā*", Kṛpāsindhu Dāsa, of "*Caturdhā Mūrti Varnanā*", Śikhara Dāsa of "*Nīlasundara Gītā*", Nāthiā of "*Jñānodaya Koili*", Dvārakādāsa of "*Parace Gītā*" and "*Premarasa Candrikā*" and last but not the least Candramaṇi Dāsa, the author of "*Sudhāsāra Gītā*". It is impossible to take note of all the contributions of these writers in the exposition of the Jagannātha cult here, but there is no doubt that the collective efforts of these and many other writers kept the flame of the cult burning vigorously in Orissa.

It has already been pointed out that the cult of Jagannātha is formulated as a result of the remarkable synthesis between tāntric Buddhism, Nāthism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism. The synthetic nature of this cult is clearly seen in the fact that it contains some Buddhistic conceptions in Vaiṣṇavite setting retaining at the same time the Vaiṣṇavite elements in more or less Buddhistic forms. Thus the striking interaction between these two important faiths cannot but remain a matter of great interst to the students of Indian culture, and attempts have been made below to examine the nature of it.

The Ideology of Śūṇya :

The most characteristic ideology behind Jagannātha formulated by the Pañcasakhās is the predominance of the concept of *Śūṇya*. There can be no doubt that this fundamental concept is a continuation of the Vajrayāna idea of the void accepted by Vaiṣṇavism after identifying it with the Vedāntic ideal of Nirguṇa Brahma. Baḷarāmadāsa in the first chapter of his "Sārasvata Gītā" declares that *Śūṇya* and *Brahma* are identical ideas,[10] and in his "*Siddhānta Ḍambaru*", he presents a Bījamantra which reads ; "Oṁ salutation to Śūṇya-Brahma".[11] It may be pointed out here that Brahma in its Saguṇa aspect is perceived in the world-manifestations, while in its Nirguṇa form it is conceived as the prime mover behind all such manifestations. But its association with the conception of vacuity gives rise to a new ideology which appears to be the same as that of the *Abhūta Parikalpa* of Vijñānavāda, where the world-manifestations become unrecognisably unified with Śūyṇa.[12]

The Conception of Vajrasattva as Śūṇya Puruṣa :

But these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa differ from the Vijñānavādins, and become one with the Vajrayānists in maintaining this Śūṇya as a Supreme Being—the Śūṇya Puruṣa, who appears to be the same as Vajrasattva. Acyutānandadāsa in his "*Śūṇya-Saṁhitā*" states—"You have well asked me of the esoteric mystery. The Śūṇya Puruṣa is just a prisoner in Śūṇya, and creating all illusions. He remains quite indifferent to them. But at the same time, He is very kind to all and He also resides in all the created things. Moreover, He is well versed in crafty devices, and so is the author of all sorts of performances".[13] He further emphasises in his "*Nitya Rāsa*", that the Supreme Entity not only creates the whole universe, but also He sports inside "Śūṇya" with His permanent associates which is described as "Nitya Rāsa". In the "Virāṭa Gītā" of Baḷarāmadāsa we find Arjuna entertaining doubts as to "how the Śūṇya Puruṣa, who has neither form nor figure, who is void personified, and whose body is the Śūṇya, can possess a name ?"[14] and Kṛṣṇa then removes his doubts by explaining him the subtle principles of the creation of this universe.

Caitanyadāsa, a contemporary of the Pañcaśakhās, declares in his "Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa" that the Incomprehensible Being has neither form nor colour ; He is the great void and He has no existence ; He is not a shape, and shapeless is His body and so he remains in Śūṇya with the Śūṇya. One who possesses a body cannot describe the secret of His form, because even Veda fails to depict His merit.[15] The same writer states in his "Nirguṇa Mahātmya", 'The beginningless and the shapeless Lord fulfils the desire for emancipation of the living creatures. In the belief of the devotees He resides in all the material bodies, and so the merit of this Iśvara, who is for the well-being of the universe, is unknowable. For the good of the pious He assumes the comprehensible form in the void".[16]

Almost all the writings of many other Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa are replete with similar brilliant descriptions of the Śūṇya Puruṣa who is sometimes called Virāṭa Puruṣa, Nirākāra, and Ādi Brahma ; and the same ideas may also be traced in the description of Vajrayānists. The "Jñānasiddhi", for instance, states, "He (Vajra Sattva) is the Being without origin and end, the all good, the soul-substance of all, the enlightened one including in Him all the static and the dynamic".[17] In the "*Śrī-Vajra-Maṇḍalā-lāṅkāra*" quoted in the Jñānasiddhi it is said "He eternally belongs to all the elements, to all the beings--He remains pervading all the bodies in the form of the flow of consciousness ; He is immutable, unthinkable, pure, passionless, perfect void like the sky, free from existence and non-existence".[18] Examples of this type need not be multiplied here, but they abound in the Vajrayāna works like "*Prajñopāya Viniścaya Siddhi*", "*Advayavajra Saṁgraha*", "*Hevajra Tantra*", "*Sampuṭika*", etc. The Śūnya Puruṣa of the Jagannātha cult as expressed in pañcasakhā literature in Orissa is an expression of "*Chidvilās*" embodying thereby the conception of the Vajrasattva of Tāntric Buddhism. It may also be pointed out both Śūṇyapuruṣa and Vajrasattva are alike regarded as the nondual state of Śūṇyatā and Karuṇā, and are characterised as the Primal Enlightened One-Ādi Buddha or Ādi Brahma.

Representation of the Dhyānī Buddhas :

The theory of five Dhyānī Buddhas, expounded in Tāntric Buddhism, has found a striking exposition in "*Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*" of Caitanyadāsa, where it has been given a novel Vaiṣṇavite setting. This great philosopher conceives of six Viṣṇus, one of which known as Nirākāra Viṣṇu is characterised as the shapeless and figureless Śūṇya and hence, is the same as *Vajrasattva*, while the other five who are emanations of Alekha Puruṣa, do undoubtedly resemble the five Dhyānī Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobha, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amogha Siddhi. The tradition about the position of the Pañca-Dhyānī Buddhas in the Maṇḍalas and similar mystic diagrams, is also to be found in literature. In the "*Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*" the six Viṣṇus including Nirākāra Viṣṇu are given similar positions in the Śūṇya Maṇḍala.[19] Even the colour scheme found in the Buddhist pantheon is not missed, and in the manner of the Six Tathāgatas these six Viṣṇus are represented in different colours like white, yellow, saffron, red, blue and green.[20] Moreover, as the five Tathāgatas have their respective Bodhisattvas, four of these Viṣṇus have four Brahmas of their own, who are credited with the creation of eighty-four worlds. It may also be pointed out that the conception of the five Tathāgatas, is present in the Yogic speculation of the Jagannātha Cult, where five out of the six plexuses (Ṣaṭcakra) of the human body are presided over by five Devas, viz. Gaṇeśa, Kāmadeva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the sixth one by Anādi, the analogue of Ādi Buddha. The noticeable fact is that the five Devas are represented with a number of accessories i.e. the divine Śaktis, *Vāhanas* (Mounts), Bījamantras, Colours, Karmas (Actions), Prāṇas, and vital winds almost in the manner of the five Tathāgatas (Dhyānī Buddhas) ; the minor differences existing between the accessorial schemes of the

Dhyānī Buddhas and the Devas are very probably due to the assimilative nature of the Jagannātha Cult itself.[21] (as expounded in the Pañcasakhā literature).

The Theory of Cosmogony :

According to the Aiśvarika school of Tāntric Buddhism[22] the visible world is created as a result of the union between Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, and this conception with some modification is noticed in the speculative philosophy of the Jagannātha cult. In the case of the latter Ādi Prajñā is represented by Yogamāyā, also named as Ādi Śakti and Ardha-Mātrā, who remains immanent in the void.[23] According to Tāntric Buddhism, the Buddha first came out of Ādi Prajñā and then uniting with her created the visible world—a process, which corresponds exactly with the Śaiva conception of creation where Ādi Śakti is considered first as mother and then as wife of Śiva.[24] But in the case of the Cult of Jagannātha this idea of the union between the mother and the son appears repugnant, and so is *a priori* discarded. On the other hand, it has been stated that when Nirākāra or Śūṇya Puruṣa was desirous of creation, there generated from his body the natural energy consisting of five elements, viz. Ūrma, Dhūrma, Jyoti, Jvāḷā, and Vindu. No sooner these fell on the sea of causation then Yogamāyā, or Ādi Śakti was born.[25] Time (Kāḷarūpa), who was hitherto in deep slumber, now rose up from the same sea, but He was unable to stand by Himself inspite of His repeated attempts.[26] Yogamāyā asked Him to assume the form of the adamantine phallus (Vajra Kīḷā), whereupon He requested Her to be the Śakti, so that He would penetrate into Her and would remain still. The Devī agreed to this and as a result of their union the process of creation was given a start.[27]

Thus, according to the speculation of these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa the whole process of creation is the result of the union of space (Yoga-māyā)[28] and time (Kāḷarūpa), symbolically expressed as the union of the primordial Śakti and phallus. In this connection an ideological similarity between Tāntric Buddhism and this form of Vaiṣṇavism may also be noted. In the case of the former the factors of cosmogony i.e. Ādi Buddha, Prajñā (the first mother) and the created world are symbolised as the well known triad Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, whereas in the case of the latter, the Śūṇya Puruṣa is taken as Jagannātha, Yogamāyā as Subhadrā and Kāḷarūpa as Baḷabhadra (also given the names of Virāṭa, Ananta and Śeṣa).[29]

But the theory of cosmogony does not end here and these philosophers of the Jagannātha cult have tried to introduce some mystic elements in the process of universal creation. According to them, when the genital fluid (Vindu) fell into the womb of Yogamāyā she brought forth a twin known as Rā—Ma, *Rā* denoting the universal Jīva (life) and *Ma* the universal Parama (Soul).[30] '*Ma*' was Kṛṣṇa, while the love emotion (Premarasa) of both of them was personified as Premarūpa who conceived and gave birth to Tripurā. This Tripurā represented the three qualities *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama*, and her body was identical with the three worlds (*Puras*)—the celestial (*Svarga*), the terrestrial (*Martya*), and the nether (*Pātāla*) worlds. Tripurā is variously called as Ādi Durgā, Mahāmāyā and *Mahā Durgā*, and She is represented as having ten hands denoting ten directions of the universe.[31]

These Vaiṣṇavas, further conceived of an eternal region (Nitya Sthaḷa) known as Goloka Maṇḍaḷa, where the eternal Rādhā representing the universal Jīva, and eternal Kṛṣṇa the universal Parama, enjoy the eternal *Rāsa* sport.[32] It is stated that there are six corners of this eternal *Rāsa* arena, which are presided over by six Sakhīs in the form of six angles, who are Subhadrā, Raṅgadevī, Līḷāvatī, Priyavatī, Vṛndāvatī and Ratnarekhā.[33] Very probably, this Goloka *Maṇḍala* has been conceived after the esoteric *Maṇḍala* or *Cakra* of Goddess Prajñā in Vajrāyana theology ; where there are four corners and four (sometimes six) gates, presided over by four (or six) *Śaktis*. In *Hevajra* tantra, for example, we find four corners and four gates of this Śūṇya Cakra, each gate being in charge of the following Śaktis : Gaurī in the east, Saurī in the south, Vetālī in the west and Ghasmarī in the north ; and besides, there are two other Śaktis i.e. Bhucarī and Khecarī in charge of the lower and upper regions respectively.[34]

Further, influence of Buddhism in connection with eternal Rāsa arena may be traced from the following story narrated by Acyutānanda in his *Śūṇya Saṁhitā* (Chapter IX). One day when the Mundane Kṛṣṇa was pining for Rādhā's company his Aṣṭapaṭṭavaṁśīs (eight chief queens or consorts), namely—Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Tuḷasī and others asked him of the reason of his anguish, and to them Kṛṣṇa explained that he was an amorous lover of Rādhā, and that their dual bodies were just like the two cotyledons of the same seed.[35] Then he narrated before them the divine glories of the Goloka *Maṇḍala* where the eternal Kṛṣṇa sports with the eternal Rādhā, and the eight chief queens were thereupon desirous of having a glimpse at the eternal Rādhā. All these queens accompanied by Sudāmā and the mundane Kṛṣṇa sat on the back of Garuḍa who flew towards Goloka. But while they were at a distance of two *Yojanas* from the Rāsa arena, all of them including Garuḍa fainted at the glare of countless suns and after coming to their senses, they decided to go back to Dvārakā. But Kṛṣṇa and Tulasī together could manage to advance one more *Yojana*, followed by the fortunate Sudāmā. At this time Buddhamātā, one of the eight associates of

Tripurā (Mahāmāyā) the Guardian-Angel of the Rāsa arena, came to Sudāmā and astonishingly congratulated him for his entry into that sphere. She told him that, the Rāsa arena being a Śūṇya *Maṇḍala,* none but those who practised the *Nirākāra* (formless) *Mantra* could enter[36] and as he had been able to come by virtue of his devotion to Jagannātha, She was inclined to teach him that *Mantra.* Hearing this Sudāmā fell at the feet of Buddhamātā, and she out of compassion gave him the *Mantra* with the instruction on the tenet of the "Thirtytwo letters".[37]

This discussion reveals the remarkable assimilative power of the cult of Jagannātha in its interesting speculation on cosmogony. We notice here that the universal Jīva represented as eternal—Rādhā and the universal Parama as eternal Kṛṣṇa originated as a result of the union of Space and Time, and that these Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the embodiment of the void, enjoy eternal *Rāsa* sport in the mystic Goloka arena which is nothing but the void region. Again, the void *Mantra* is characterised as the only help for attaining to that region, and the significant fact is that this Mantra is inculcated by the compassionate Buddhamātā, an associate of Tripurā, who is identical with the three universes. Thus, the cosmogonical theory of Orissan Vaiṣṇavism and the Jagannātha cult is a mystic and idealistic one ; although it contains a great amount of originality, some Buddhist scholars are of opinion that it is based on the Sarva Śūṇyatā doctrine of Buddhism.

The Nirākāra Mantra of Thirtytwo Syllables :

Let us now examine the composition and the nature of the Nirākāra Mantra, consisting of thirty-two letters, as, it is also one of the important features of the cult. It should be remembered in this connection that the origin and unfolding of these thirty-two letters resemble closely the process of creation, discussed above, and in fact, both the processes are almost one and identical. The Śūṇya Puruṣa, who cannot be represented in any comprehensible letter or figure is given the name Alekha and is, therefore, regarded as "Aṇākṣara" ; when Yogamāyā in the form of *Śakti* unites with *Kālarūpa* who assumes the shape of adamantine phallus, Vindu is added to Ardhamātrā, and thus is created the letter 'Oṁ', which, although phonologically composed of three sounds i.e. *a u m* is regarded here as "*Ekākṣara*" or one letter. This Oṁ, which resembles in shape the mythical snake Ananta is supposed to be the cradle of the Suṣumnā Veda (Śiṣu Veda) and is also called the "*Avāvi Maṇḍala*", the mystic circle.[38] After Ekākṣara *Oṁ*, the two letters "*Rā*—and *Mā*" come into origin, which are characterised as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and the love emotion between them is given form as Premarūpa also known as Candrāvaḷī. Thus, we get the trio-*Chandrāvalī*, *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*, who are represented in Tribīja form as Hlīṁ (Lājyā Bīja), Slīṁ (Rājabīja), and Klīṁ (Kāma bīja) respectively.[39] This Tribīja beingtransformed into Mantra becomes "Here Rāma Kṛṣṇa", which is the famous Mantra of three names and six letters of these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa. These six syllables are further regarded as the six corners of the mystic Goloka-Maṇḍaḷa. The *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā* says that Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa reveals himself to Arjuna as this Tribīja Mantra of six syllables, which is also described as Mahāmantra, it being as great and as sacred as Jagannātha himself. Out of this Mantra (Hare-Rāma-Kṛṣṇa) was developed the Mantra of 32 letters—*Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare Hare Kṛṣṇa Hare Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hare Hare.* Each syllable contains two letters, for e.g. 'Rāma' has two letters, 'Rā', 'Ma'. The four Kṛṣṇas are stated to be Līlāṅga Kṛṣṇa, Stoka Kṛṣṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Bāḷa Kṛṣṇa, whereas, the four Rāmas are called Virāṭa, Baḷabhadra, Śeṣadeva and Ananta ; and out of the eight Hares, four are regarded as the associates of the Kṛṣṇa group, while the other four are classed in the Rāma group. The associates of the Kṛṣṇa group are named as Rādhā, Candrāvalī, Dutī and Tripurā ; and those of the Rāma group are Rāmaratnā, Rāmāyaṇī, Revatī and Yogamāyā.[40] It also goes to prove that an attempt has been made by these scholars of Orissa to assimilate both the cults of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa into Jagannātha cult.

The discussion about the composition of the 'Nirākāra Mantra' brings forth three very important ideas of the cult of Jagannātha, which feature very often in the writings of the philosophers of this cult. In the first place, it shows that although these philosophers accept the ideology concerning Gopīs and Rādhā, they do not treat it in the same passionate manner as is done by the Vaiṣṇavas of Mithilā and Bengal. The conception of the Goloka arena, as the region of Śūnya, of which the Gopīs are merely the component parts, has entirely changed this ideology, and the love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is looked upon by them as the creative rhythm that takes place in the bosom of the great vacuity. In the light of this, the constituent units of the Nirākāra Mantra i.e. the four Kṛṣṇas, four Rāmas and eight Hares are all but manifestations of vacuity ; and the proper realisation of this Mantra is the only way of attaining the stage of vacuity.

Secondly the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas of this order appear to have made an attempt to identify this Nirākāra Mantra not only with Lord Jagannātha, but also with His four emanations, viz. Jagannātha, Subhadrā, Baḷabhadra and Sudarśana. We have already noted how the Mantra of six syllables ; "*Here Rāma Kṛṣna*" has been explained in terms of the limbs of the image of Jagannātha. Yośovantadāsa further states that even the four syllables "*Hare-Kṛṣna*", which are but a part of the whole Mantra, represent the four images in the following manner; *'Ha'* stands for Subhadrā (Bhadra-Sakha), *'Ra'* for Baḷadeva the consort of Revatī, *'Kṛ'* for Jagannātha and *'Sna'* for Sudarśana.[41] Thus the Mantra and the deities are made identical with one another, and they are considered as the representation of the complete void. Acyutānanda, in his "*Śūnya Saṁhitā*", strongly asserts that the Jagannātha tetrad is shapeless and formless void,[42] and that the worshipper, who possesses the void body like his God, should not put faith in his corporeal existence; considering the phenomenal world to be void he should worship Śūnya Puruṣa by the Nirākāra Mantra.[43] Evidently these Vaiṣnavas follow here the fundamental principles of Vajrayāna Buddhism, according to which, the deities, the Mantras, the worshipper and the materials of worship are all characterised as complete void.

Lastly, it seems quite clear that the philosophers of this school have made constant efforts to reconcile principles of vacuity and eternity. The Goloka Maṇḍala, which is regarded as a space of the void is at the same time described as the eternal region, and Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs of the Rāsa sport are all represented as embodiment of both *Śūṇya* and *Nitya.* If Lord Jagannātha is characterised as Alekha and Śūṇya Puruṣa, He is also regarded as the great *Brahma* and the *Nitya Puruṣa.* The ideological synthesis between *Śūṇya* and *Nitya* has also been given a tangible form by making the temple of Jagannātha (Nīḷagiri) identical with Goloka and declaring Nitya and the Nīḷagiri as one and the same concepts.[44]

The System of Yoga :

The most important aspect of the cult of Jagannātha is its elaborate system of *Yoga* which is mainly based upon the *Haṭhayoga.* The aims of *Yoga* system are to control disease, decay and death through physical culture and to realise the Alekha Nirañjana (the formless and the spotless) by transmuting the subtler body into a gross physical super-conscious one.[45] The theory of the six plexuses (*Ṣaṭ Cakra*) the Thousand petalled Lotus (Sahasrāra) and that of the three mystic nerves i.e. *Iḍā, Piṅgalā, Suṣumnā* giving the processes of breath control like *Pūraka, Kumbhaka* and *Recaka* together with various practices of Mudrās and Bandhas are taken in more or less modified form by these Vaiṣṇavas from earlier Tantra-Yoga practices. They also name after *'Haṭha Yoga'*, their Yoga system as 'Ghaṭa Yoga'[46] which means the Yoga of the body (Ghaṭa).

It is, impossible to describe here in detail the elaborate Yogic processes of the Jagannātha Cult so we simply present below the salient features of it with a view to pointing out its distinctive nature. The Yogic philosophers of Orissa seem to have made a thorough survey of the whole nervous system of the human body, and they counted altogether 72 thousand nerves from the naval region of the body.[47] Out of these 72 thousand, only ten nerves are considered to be essential for Yogic practices and they are named as *Iḍā*, *Piṅgalā*, *Suṣumnā*, *Gāndhārī*, *Hastijihvā*, *Pūṣā*, *Yaśasvinī*, *Alambuṣā*, *Kuhū* and *Śaṅkhinī*. But only the first three nerves are regarded as the most important ones, and they are located inside the spinal column—Iḍā on the left, *Piṅgalā* on the right and *Suṣumnā* in the middle—running parallel to one another. These three mystic nerves meet together inside the forehead in between the two eyes ; where both the nostrils meet, the juncture is known as "*Trikūṭa*".[48] Above this *Trikūṭa* there is a small slit known as the "Brahmarandhra" leading to the region of Alekha, and the valve of the slit is as delicate as the skin of the sesame seed.[49] The Sādhaka is to raise the vital wind upward through Suṣumnā and keep it in the Trikūṭa,[50] and then opening the gate of Brahmarandhra, should concentrate upon Alekha, whereby he would easily conquer Yama the God of death.[51] The vital energy or the life-force, conceived in the nature of the coiled snake and hence, called *Kuṇḍalinī*, is taken to be tending downward in the case of the ordinary human being who fritters it away in various wordly indulgences. In Yogic Sādhanā this vital force is to be given an upward direction, which is called the "*Ulṭa*" or "*Ujāni*" (reverse) Sādhanā implying a process af reversal from the world of *Pravṛtti* to the state of *Nivṛtti*.[52]

There are six 'Cakras' in the human body, and *Kuṇḍalinī* in her reverse (*Ulṭa*) ascent towards Nivṛtti, is to gradually pass through them, marking the different stages of *Yoga*. The final stage, however, is reached when the slit at the top of the *Trikūṭa* can be opened by constant Yogic concentration allowing thus the Kuṇḍaḷinī to get through the Vankunāḷa to the *Brahma Cakra*, situated inside the cavity of the head below the skull.[53] This Brahma *Cakra* is also called the '*Sahasrāra*', the thousand petalled Lotus which is as luminous as the rays of a thousand suns and is described as the incomprehensible region of Alekha. The upward journey of the *Kuṇḍalinī* towards the *Sahasrāra* is considered as the march of the finite towards the infinite, and their union is taken to be the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in eternal Rāsa arena. Moreover, the Brahma Cakra or the thousand petalled Lotus is regarded as the seat of Jagannātha. Acyutānanda in his *Chayalisa Paṭala*, and Baḷarāmadāsa in *Virāṭa Gītā* identify the human body in all its aspects with the temple of Jagannātha, making the Sahasrāra region the seat of the great Lord.[54] Divākaradāsa conceives of the temple itself as the thousand petalled Lotus.[55] The logical corollary is that these Orissan Vaiṣṇavas visualise the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the image of Jagannātha. In other words, Jagannātha to them is not only the visible expression of the incomprehensible Alekha Brahma but also the nondual conception of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[56]

The Guru Vāda :

One of the important features of the Yoga system of the Jagannātha cult is the Guru Vāda, as well as the principle of "Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa". The complex and arduous nature of *Yoga* necessarily requires the help and guidance of a *Guru* (preceptor), and as in the case of Tāntric Buddhism, he is invariably held in the highest regard, and is even openly declared as a substitute for God. Baḷarāmadāsa in his Gupta Gītā, says—"*Guru* is *Brahmā*, *Hari* and *Hara*, and He is also the formless void himself".[57] Acyutānanda in the same strain declares : "The Formless one that remains immanent in the *Śūṇya* incarnates in Kaḷiyuga in the form of the *Guru* for the good of man".[58] This *Guru Vāda* is also accepted in almost the same sense and spirit in the Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic literature of the Hindus and may not, therefore, be regarded as the monopoly of the Tāntric Buddhists. In the case of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas, however Lord Jagannātha is regarded as the ultimate Guru not only of the individual, but also of the whole universe.[59]

The Theory of "Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa" :

The principle of identifying the human body with the universe is markedly present in the Yogic philosophy of the Jagannātha cult. All the Oriya philosophers declare in almost the same voice that the entire universe is located within the body and that the *Piṇḍa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* are one and the same.[60] In "*Saptāṅga Yogasāra Ṭīkā*" of Baḷarāmadāsa and "*Śiva Svarodaya*" of Yaśovanta Dāsa, the various phases of time, i.e. day, night, week, month etc. are explained with reference to the functions of the vital winds in the nervous system, and it has also been repeatedly pointed out that by controlling the vital wind one might escape the malignant influence of the "Whirl of time" (Kāḷa Cakra).[61] This concept in the cult of Jagannātha might have also been partly due to the influence of the Yoga system of the Kāḷa Cakra Yāna of Tāntric Buddhism. In the *Gupta Gītā* Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna the theory of *Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa* attributing the sacred places of Orissa to the limbs of the human body in the following manner. "Your feet represent Yājapura, the pleasure-ground of Varāhanātha and the seat of the Goddess Virajā, and to the north of it lies the region of Yama. The waist that represents Kataka, is the home of the Goddess Vāseḷī, and the east of it is Vaḷakatī the place of her haunt. Your abdomen represents the hill Khaṇḍagiri, the secret of the Siddhas and the navel represents Bhubaneśvara, while the belly is the same as Tuḷasī Caurā (Tuḷasīpura). Haṭeśvara, the seat of the son of Pārvati (Kārtikeya) is represented in your right hand, and Candrabhāgā in your left hand while the throat is no other than the famous Atharanaḷā of Purī. The cavity of the mouth is the lion gate (Siṁhadvāra) of the temple of Jagannātha, where stand Jaya and Vijaya the mythical gate-keepers while the left and the right nostrils are guarded respectively by Kumbhakarṇa and Rāvaṇa. The author proceeds in a similar manner and finally asserts that the white portion, the black portion and the pupil of the eyes are to be respectively recognised as Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha.

The Great Lord Jagannātha :

The discussions about the speculative thoughts and Yogic system of the Jagannātha cult prove the tendency of these Vaiṣṇavas to make the Jagannātha concept the most salient and the central feature of this faith. The most significant factor in the faith of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as stated before is the identification of Lord Jagannātha with Lord Buddha, and it may be pointed out that in this case these poet-philosophers (*Pañcasakhās* and some of their contemporaries) appear to have followed the traditions left by the Buddhist Siddhas. Much earlier in the 8th Century A.D., the Uddiyāna king Indrabhūti, the reputed systematiser of Vajrayāna, is found paying obeisance to Jagannātha in the opening verses of his '*Jñāna Siddhi*' with the following words : "Lord Jagannātha who is the same as all the Buddhas, and who as all pervading Siddhi is compared to the sky, is worshipped by all the highest Jīnas ; He is the giver of all, the omniscient of the essence of all and the best of all the Vajrayānists. After bowing low before Him with all my feelings and devotion, I now enunciate His great *Sādhanā*".[62] Anaṅgavajra, who is regarded as the preceptor of Indrabhūti, declares that "Jagannātha the worshipful Lord, is the giver of all *artha* and *siddhi*".[63] Coming to the Dharma cult, we find almost the same tendency of identifying Jagannātha with Lord Buddha, who, in this case, is but one of the incarnations of Hari. The "*Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna*", an authentic book of this cult states ; "In the ninth incarnation God was born as Jagannātha, who was none but Lord Buddha, and He settled His residence on the sea coast, where He has relieved the whole world by distributing to all (irrespective of caste and creed) His Prasāda".[64] It may be pointed out in this connection that among the ten incarnations of God, inscribed on the gateway of the Jagannātha temple in Pūrī, Buddha the ninth incarnation, has been represented by Jagannātha, a fact which thus clearly corroborates the statement of the *Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna*. In the same work it has further been said that the Lord revealed Himself as Jagannātha to unite together the Hindus and the Muslims in his land (i.e. Orissa), while in the country of Gauḍa He revealed Himself as the Dharmarāja.[65]

With this tradition behind them the poet-sages of Jagannātha cult, not only presented the cosmic picture of Jagannātha by their supernormal vision, but also they looked upon Him as the Buddha and burst out into rapturous songs in praise of His glory. Sāraḷādāsa in the Sabhā Parva of his *Mahābhārata* prays : "Jagannātha, you are present here as the Buddha for the deliverance of the people of the world".[66] The same devotional expression is found in various places of the Ādi, Vana, Musaḷī, and the Śalya Parvas of his famous work. Jagannātha Dāsa while narrating the legendary origin of Jagannātha in his "*Dāru Brahma Gītā*" and "*Deula Tolā*" asserts the identification of the deity with the Buddha. In the "*Dāru Brahma Gītā*", for instance, he writes, "After the sixth day (in the course of His formation), His hands and feet became feeble and He then discarded them in order to be the Buddha".[67] Acyutānanda Dāsa, in many places of "*Śūnya-Saṁhitā*" declares in clear terms that Jagannātha is no other than the Buddha. Addressing Him, he says : "Lord, You will enjoy as the Buddha in the Kaḷiyuga the oblations of the devotees on the shore of Mahodadhi (the Great sea).[68] Elsewhere in the same book Jagannātha Himself is supposed to have said, "Hearken to us, Oh, Acyuta, in this Kaḷiyuga we have again appeared as Buddha, and thus disguising ourselves as Buddha, we have incurred the curse of the Muṇis.[69] Even Pratāpa Ray, the writer of "*Śaśi-seṇā*" declares "Hari Himself is present in the sanctuary of Śrī Nīḷagiri (the Jagannātha temple, Purī) in the form of the Buddha.[70] Examples of this kind abound in the writings of these Vaiṣṇavas, who as worshippers of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, are attracted at the same time towards the Buddha and Buddhism. It may be said that Kṛṣṇa who is born in Mathurā, is brought up at Gopa, and subsequently becomes the ruler of Dvārakā, is regarded by these philosophers as a part of Jagannātha. Jagannātha, to them, is the embodiment of sixteen divine attributes, and Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Jagannātha and as the son of Nanda, possesses only one attribute (Kaḷā).[71] Acyutānanda has rightly said that the Jagannātha is the possessor of 16 Kaḷās and He is responsible for the creation of ten incarnations. All these incarnations are completely lost in Him. This is also supported by unbroken tradition current in Orissa. At other places worship is made to the *Avatāras* only but in Jagannātha kṣetra *Pūrṇa Brahma* is worshipped. This is the unique feature in the conception of Pañcasakhās of Orissa. Various attempts have been made to identify Kṛṣṇa with Jagannātha. But the poet-philosophers of Orissa do not accept this view. They want to respect the agelong tradition that Jagannātha is Puruṣottama and He is the creator of all the things of the world. Śrī Caitanya is, likewise, regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the manifestation of only one attribute of Jagannātha, and in '*Śūṇya Saṁhitā*' Lord Jagannātha says, "My attribute will go to Navadvīpa and will manifest itself as Caitanya.[72] Iśvaradāsa, however, in his "*Caitanya Bhāgavata*" identifies Śrī Caitanya with the Buddha, and in this text the Lord declares "as mankind will be 'inconscient' (*Acheta*) with ignorance, I shall appear as Caitanya (embodiment of consciousness), and imparting words of wisdom, shall be known as the incarnation of the Buddha.[73] To avoid confusion, it may here be pointed out that Buddha and Caitanya are all regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnations of Jagannātha, and if sometimes the latter is identified with Buddha or Kṛṣṇa, He is then looked upon as Ādi Buddha or Ādiviṣṇu respectively.

Another important feature of the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism of the 16th century is the concept of Subhadrā who is conceived as *Guru* and is thus placed in the middle. Baḷabhadra is the *śiṣya* and is placed first in the order ; Jagannātha is Bhagavān and placed last in order. The *śiṣya* with the help of *Guru* will attain *sāyujya* with Bhagavān. So the order is *Śiṣya, Guru, Bhagavān*, or Hare Rāma Kṛṣṇa. They are represented by three *bījas* namely *Hlīṁ, Slīṁ*, and *Kliṁ*.[73a] Two more *bīja* mantras—1. *Dhliṁ* for Sudarśana and 2. *Pliṁ* for Ratnavedī are also added.

Further, these deities have again been conceived as 'Vedamaya Puruṣas'.[73b] Baḷarāma Dāsa in his *Gupta Gītā* describes these four deities as representing the four vedas. Baḷabhadra stands for *Sāma*, Subhadrā for *Ṛk*, Jagannātha for *Yajus* and Sudarśana for *Atharva* Veda. This is supported by *Skanḍa Purāṇa* as well as *Nīlādri Mahodaya* with some variation. Again in the order of trinity, Subhadrā is conceived as Brahmā, other two as Viṣṇu and Maheśvara respectively.[73c]

Still Another aspect suggested by Servus Servorum, a Christian missionary in his book 'Mysticism in the temple of Jagannātha at Purī', Ch. III, P. 45, supports the mystical aspect of this trinity. According to him "the Trinity are the first manifestations of existence and each of the trio represents an active principle. One is therefore led to think that the trio Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are the mystic representation of these three fundamental aspects of Viṣṇu (Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāḷa).

In spite of all the various ideas advocated by the Pañcasakhās, the brāhmiṇical element seems to have attempted to make the institution of Jagannātha a stronghold of the Brāhmiṇical orthodoxy. The rites and worship of Jagannātha are performed by them in the Brāhmiṇical manners and mantras. The Brāhmiṇical literature that developed centering round Jagannātha contained ideas of vedic and tāntric forms of religion, for example, the Bīja Mantras "*Puruṣasūkta*" and "*Oṁ Kāra*" are profusely used in worship.

An illuminating suggestion* revealing the mystery of Praṇava was made by Acyutānanda Dāsa. According to him the Ratnavedī (Siṁhāsana), Sudarśana and the three icons, Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā all are mounted in the figure called Oṁkāryantra. This yantra is constituted of five mātrās or marks which have been termed by the poet as Nāda, Vindu, Daṇḍaka, Tāraka and Kuṇḍaḷī : When these marks are conjoined, they form the letter "OM" of the Indian especially alphabet of Oriya which again is the outline of the image of Jagannātha himself. The five mātrās symbolise the original divine principles, their image forms in the Jagannātha cult and also the bīja mantras as shown in the table below.

Mātrās	*Divine Principles*	*Image*	*Bīja mantras*
1. Nāda	Mūḷa Prakṛti (Basic principle)	Siṁhāsana	Pḷiṁ
2. Vindu	Mūḷa Brahma	Sudarśana	Dhḷīṁ
3. Daṇḍaka	Viṣṇu	Jagannātha	Kḷīṁ
4. Tāraka	Brahmā	Subhadrā	Sḷīṁ
5. Kuṇḍaḷī	Śiva	Baḷabhadra	Hḷīṁ

Further the following diagramatic presentation of 'OM' in five mātrās will show that five is an elemental number and the five mātrās symbolise the entire world of existence resolved in terms of five. Thus Jagannātha as manifested in the form of *Oṁkāra*, stands for the summation of all things and the Oṁkāra Yantra is the most befitting form for the image of Jagannātha. In this tradition it is worth noting that Jagannātha is represented by a part of yantra (Daṇḍaka) and also as the entire yantra itself. This accounts for the predominance of Jagannātha.

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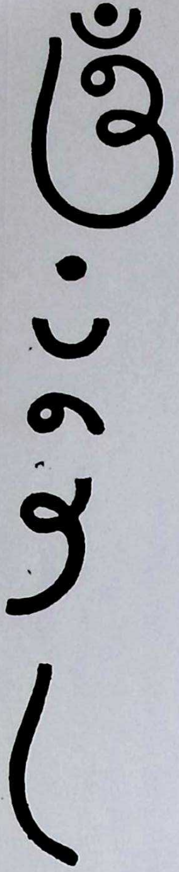
*Vide Palmleaf Ms. of Sayantra Sunya, Samhita traced and collected by the author and presented to Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for preservation.

DIAGRAMATIC PRESENTATION OF "OM" AS ADVOCATED BY THE LATER SCHOOL OF PAÑCASAKHĀ PHILOSOPHERS OF ORISSA.(*)



Name of Pañca Mātrās	Name of Pañca Varṇas or Letters	Pañca Devas	Pañca Vijas	Pañca Namas	Pañca Aṅgas (Limbs)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bindu	Ma-kāra	Sudarśana	Plīṁ	Haṁ	Head
Nāda or Ardha mātrā	I-kāra	Siṁhāsana (Throne)	Dhlīṁ	Saṁ	Ear
Daṇḍaka	E-kāra	Jagannātha	Klīṁ	Kṛṣṇa	Eye
Tāraka	U-kāra	Subhadrā	Slīṁ	Rāma	Nose
Kuṇḍaḷī	A-kāra	Baḷabhadra	Hlīṁ	Hare	Mouth (Tongue)

(*) Collected from a Palmleaf Ms. obtained from Binharpur, Cuttack (under private possession.) This division is not according to Dhvanī of Oṁkār but according to the structure of the yantra.

Pañca Maha-bhūtas (Five elements)	Pañca Tanmātrās (Five subtle essences)	Pañca Vāyus	Pañca Manas	Pañca Saṁhitās
7	8	9	10	11
Ākāśa (Sky)	Sabda (Sound)	Udāna	Amana	Akaḷita
Marut (Wind)	Sparśa (Touch)	Byāna	Bimana	Anāhata
Teja (Light)	Rupa (Form)	Samāna	Sumana	Jyoti
Ap (Water)	Rasa (Taste)	Apāna	Mana	Abaḍa
Kṣhiti (Earth)	Gandha (Smell)	Prāṇa	Kumana	Chayā

Pañca Baṭa (Five Holy Banian trees)	Pañca Tīrtha (Five Pilgrimages)	Pañca Saṁpradāya (Five Sects)	Pañca Guru (Five Preceptors)
12	13	14	15
Kaḷpabaṭa	Samudra	Avadhūta	Tatva Guru
Aṣṭabaṭa	Mārkaṇḍa	Ramānanda	Karna Guru
Udayabaṭa	Śvetagangā	Śyāmānanda	Pitā Guru
Bānchābaṭa	Indradyumna	Mādhvacārya	Mātā Guru
Baṁśībaṭa	Narendra	Nimānanda	Vidyā Guru

Pañca Varṇa	Pañca Karma	Pañca Kaḷā	Pañca Diga (direction)	Pañca Sakhā	Pañca Veda
16	17	18	19	20	21
Nīla (Blue)	Dharma	Kaḷā	Sunya (Sky)	Acyuta	Sisu
Lohita (Red)	Kṣamā	Jvāḷā	Paścima (West)	Jagannātha	Atharva
Pīta (Yellow)	Dayā	Jyoti	Dakṣiṇa (South)	Ananta	Sāma
Dhumra (Grey)	Śānti	Dhurma	Pūrva (East)	Jaśobanta	Yajuḥ
Śveta (White)	Satya	Urma	Uttara (North)	Baḷarāma	Ṛk

Part—II : Philosophy

The Philosophy of Śrī Jagannātha reviewed in the light of the Puruṣottamavāda of the Gītā and other texts

Our common knowledge of objects is dependent on sense impressions, and the apprehension becomes complete through psychical synthesis. But that which is not acquired through sense experience cannot be apprehended by the mind. The absolute spirit being beyond sense impression is necessarily not accessible to any mental or psychical act. In western philosophy Kant advocated a view similar to this and the Upaniṣadic tradition supports this idea. That is why the Absolute Reality or spirit is described as *Avāṅmānsagocara*, i.e. inaccessible to thought and speech. From the ordinary theoretical level of consciousness any thought of Absolute Reality leads to antinomies of pure reason according to Kant.[74] But where Kant stops, the Indian spiritualists take up the clue and go beyond him. The antinomies and contradictions are resolved in a higher plane of consciousness where the contradictory aspects are discovered to be essentially complementary. The solution is not offered in the Hegelian way because Hegel will not admit any qualitative or absolute distinction between levels of consciousness. With Hegel all differences are of degrees and not of kind, and so while Hegel would speak of degrees of consciousness, the Indian absolutists would speak of different levels or strata of consciousness. The synthesis of the contradictories is apprehended and realised in a mode of spiritual consciousness which is qualitatively different from our ordinary consciousness. It is on this level that the unity of the manifest and the unmanifest, the phenomenal and the noumenal, the immanent and the transcendent, the unity of *sat* (Existence) *cit* (Pure consciousness), and the revealed and the revealing is apprehended. What is peculiar in the cult of Jagannātha is that this unity is not a mere aggregate or summation of the other two aspects but a new form which though inclusive of the two previous forms was not apprehended along with them previously. The unity of *Sat* and *Cit* for instance gives *Ānandaṁ* which comprehends the other two but at the same time goes beyond them. Puruṣottama comprehends both Śuddha Puruṣa and Śuddhā Prakṛti, and at the same time goes beyond the two, and in so doing becomes the Absolute Puruṣa as different from the Pure Puruṣa which is the logical opposite of Prakṛti. Here then is transcended the Sāṅkhya dualism between Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and not only is the plurality of Puruṣas resolved into unity, but we have a Puruṣa here which is not a colateral reality in relation to other Puruṣas. So the position of Sāṅkhya is not only transcended, but also the position of Yoga which conceives the Lord or Iśvara as a Puruṣaviśeṣa, that is, a superior Puruṣa is excelled.[75] What is remarkable here is the spirit of synthesis of all rival and contradictory forms, and the recognition of this synthesis as a new fact not apprehended fully in the earlier forms (i.e. Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā).

In the religion of Jagannātha we have not only the *one* or the Advaita but we have also at the same time, the *three* forms which stand distinct and yet of which the third is a synthesis of the first two in a new and distinct form. There is Baḷabhadra there is Subhadrā and there is Jagannātha and looked at from this angle we have three forms. But again in Jagannātha Himself we have all the three together in the form of an absolute unity. So the earlier forms are transcended in the latter, and the latter form not only stands over against the earlier two, but it also becomes inclusive of the other two.

In this arrangement Baḷabhadra comes first, then Subhadrā, and last of all Jagannātha. Baḷabhadra is the noumenal or the transcendent, the unchangeable and the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure form, like that of Aristotle, the form of the Good like that of Plato, the *sat* or pure Being of the Advaita. It is inifinitude or fullness in itself and by itself. The method of apprehending this form is pure knowledge or *Śuddhajñāna*. There may be different reasons why this particular arrangement of the deities has been provided. One of those reasons may be that in the evolution of spiritual consciousness there is a tendency of consciousness at first to soar up to the transcendent, the Supramundane, the pure Being, to the form which is antithetical to and in a sense the negation of the given order of reality and nature. A Śaṅkarite would find culmination of spiritual consciousness in this abstract form ; but not so the Vaiṣṇava devotee of Lord Jagannātha. After having reached the pure, the qualitiless, the transcendent, he turns back upon its logical antithesis the phenomenal whole, the changeable order, the qualified, the manifest. Having reached the apprehension of pure *puruṣa* it turns again to its opposite the *Prakṛti* or the *Śakti*. From *sat* it turns back upon the existential and the revealed, from the Naturā Naturans of Spinoza to Naturā Naturātā of the same philosopher,[76] from the infinite which is complete in itself to the infinite which is complete in relation to the phenomenal plurality and is the source of it. This is Subhadrā and the method of realisation of this form is *karma* or "*Action*". But this *karma* is not ordinary *karma*, not the *karma* which goes before *jñāna* ; but which follows after *jñāna* and is attended by *jñāna*. This *karma* which comes after *jñāna* culminates in *prema* or *bhakti*, and in *bhakti* or *prema* only an abstract realisation of Divinity changes into a concrete union with that Divinity. *Prema* or *bhakti* is the symbol of this union or identification. This is the reason why in the realisation of the form of Jagannātha, it is *bhakti* or *prema* which is considered to be the only method of *Sādhanā*. Jagannātha is the synthesis. It is the union or unity itself and so the mode of apprehension can only be that which is suggestive of union and so this is called love or *prema*. *Jñāna* gives the transcendent, the distant, *Karma* gives the immanent, the near or that which is close to us. But *Bhakti* gives that which is at the same time near and distant, transcendent and immanent, that which is the self and the other than the self. So there seems to be not only some logical reason for this arrangement but also some deeper spiritual reason why the order of the deities is as it is.

The images are found incomplete. This has puzzled many investigators. Some thought that the images are purely symbolical in character. Even supposing that the original forms were the products of crude and undeveloped aboriginal art, it seems astonishing that such crude forms came to be retained through all succeeding stages when Orissan art and architecture reached a stage of rare perfection. What prevented the designer of the marvellous and exquisite male and female forms in hundreds of other temples from supplanting the crude forms of deities by forms which are more intelligible and more beautiful ? Even supposing that those crude forms were developed by crude methods and by people who had no training in the plastic art, the question remains why these were not replaced by other forms of more artistic built in later years ? The spiritual minds of subsequent generation of the people must have discovered some mystery, some inexplicable truth in the forms on account of which the forms were retained in their original setting without any addition or alteration. History tells us that there was a time when Kāḷāpāhāḍ destroyed the original images. What prevented the king Rāmacandra Deva from installing artistic images of a Baḷabhadra a Subhadrā and a Jagannātha ? Blind veneration of antiquity and tradition does not fully explain why the images similar to the older forms were re-installed.

It can be seen that none of the forms appears to be complete by itself. The three not only represent three forms but also represent three aspects of one whole. The incompleteness in the forms is suggestive of this inter-relation, and complementing character of the forms themselves. In a sense the forms are certainly symbolical. But they suggest or symbolise the inexplicable, the unspeakable, the unthinkable, and the absolute spirit is just that. How can that be fully represented, which is by its very nature unrepresentable, and which baffles understanding, subdues speech, and which is non-sensuous ? The infinite can only be represented by forms which are by their very nature baffling to ordinary apprehension. This sublime height of conception has nowhere been attained except in the three images in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. In all other temples Gods have been carved in human forms. But the Supreme Lord Jagannātha can be shown in his Supreme form only by images, which though akin to the phenomenal or the mundane are at the same time different and distant. So the forms have remained partly intelligible, partly un-intelligible, partly pictureable and partly unthinkable. Where do we get the suggestion of Infinite as Infinite ; the unthinkable as unthinkable of a God who is not only immanent but also transcendent except in the temple of Lord Jagannātha ?

Besides the three forms there is another, a formless form, called Sudarśana which also is enumerated in the total assessment of the forms. The forms are described as fourfold, (caturdhā) but while the other three are worshipped as persons this fourth called Sudarśana is worshipped as a symbol. It is not given the form of any particular thing. In the purāṇas Sudarśana is the disc which along with the conch shell and the club is an *āyudha* (weapon). The purāṇas describe how Lord Viṣṇu killed his enemies by decapitating them with the wheel. The demons Madhu, Kaitabha, Mura etc. met their end in this way. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa is described as the weilder of Sudarśana and with it he decapitated Śiśupāḷa. But this is only one aspect of the thing and not a very significant one. The *Cakra* of the Cakradhārī is also symbolical of the cycle of change. The phenomenal order or *Jagat* is ruled by the principle of change, but this law of change proceeds from the changeless—the Eternal. Again the supreme reality beyond all things is related to the given phenomenal order in a mysterious way. Sudarśana seems to stand between the given order and the unfathomable beyond. It is the principle of inscrutability of the inscrutable, the principle of mystery of the mysterious, the *Cakra* of *Cakrī*. It is by the principle of mystery of essential unintelligibility or unfathomableness, that the sùpreme Lord of the Universe is connected with the Universe. Sudarśana seems to be the symbol of that mystery. It symbolises Time and Change, and is connected with the unchangeable the inscrutable, and the eternal as its source. It is remarkable that, during the Rathayātrā festival this Sudarśana form is taken to the chariot first.[77] This seems to indicate that without the introduction of Sudarśana which is the connecting link between the three forms, the forms cannnot be separately introduced. It is also remarkable that Sudarśana is not placed in the chariot of Lord Jagannātha, but placed in the chariot of Subhadrā who is the symbol of the manifest order of the changeable whole.* This seems to suggest that the changeable infinite is not intelligible except under the shadow of the unchangeable, and this connecting link is the principle of mystery or change and this is Sudarśana. The formless form of Sudarśana is also suggestive of the fact that the changeable can be figured in some way, but the principle of change cannot be grasped in any definite form. So Sudarśana has no definite form. Sudarśana is *Mahāviṣṇu* as described in Pañcarātra Āgama. He is Jyoti Puruṣa as conceived by Pañcasakhā philosophers of Orissa.

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* "Nānābidha śaktimayusā jānayati kāḷatatvamebadan." ("Śaivagama"). She (Subhadrā) created at the outset Sudarśana which is known as Kāḷatatva.

The three deities have different colours, Subhadrā, the symbol of *Prakṛti* or *Śakti* has yellow colour. *Prakṛti* is the source of all living things and forms, which assume various colours as they grow and develop, but at the origin are characterised by yellow colour. Baḷabhadra who is the symbol of pure being or pure indeterminate spirit, has white colour, which is at the same time the synthesis and negation of all spectral colours. Lord Jagannātha has dark colour. This darkness seems to suggest the veil of mystery which surrounds the Supreme Lord. Black is no colour in itself, nor is it a synthesis of colours. It is the negation of all colours as well as colourlessness.*

The philosophy underlying the cult of Jagannātha has a support in the Puruṣottamavāda of the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* makes the distinction between *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* and presents the Lord who is beyond both and at the same time who comprehends both of them in a new form, distinct from the other two.[78] The supreme Lord is incomprehensible (*acintya*). But the *kṣara* and the *akṣara* are both comprehensible. Besides there is a dualism and opposition between *kṣara* and *akṣara* ; but the absolute is not opposed to any. Lord Jagannātha is conceived in the same way. He is other than pure puruṣa (Baḷabhadra) and *Parā Prakṛti* (Subhadrā), the *kṣara* and the *akṣara*. He is neither *pariṇāminitya* nor *apariṇāminitya*. He is beyond both, that is, neither opposed to any of them nor identical with any of them or both of them together.[79] Were he identical with both he could not be a deity transcendent of both and were he opposed to any of them or even opposed to both of them together he would be limited and not the infinite Lord. The Absolute is incomprehensible. This incomprehensibility of the supreme Lord is also suggested by the dark colour. "Kṛṣṇañca varnaṁ tamasājanātyaye." It means all the colours culminate in the dark as it is all pervading. But the incomprehensible here is not the unknowable of the agnostics. The incomprehensible is the unfathomable—that which can only be partly known and which always remains partly unknowable. The eyes of the Lord glisten with divine grace (*kṛpā*) and the supreme Lord is connected with the world of things and beings by *bhakti* or *prema*. He is both *mūrta* and *amūrta*. The *mūrta* form is *premaghana* and, the *amūrta* is *vijñānaghana*. It is this former aspect of the lord which becomes the object of worship and the method of worship is *prema bhakti* or devotion involving self-surrender

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* According to another interpretation, the three colours of the deities represent the three races of the world—white , yellow and black.

(*Prapatti*). He is not merely a puruṣa like the Sāṁkhya Puruṣa which is a bare witness, pure consciousness, itself without quality or determination. His Puruṣottamatā is suggestive of this compassionate aspect or the worshippable aspect. The Sāṁkhya Puruṣa is the true self of the individual (*jiva*). It is never the universal One. There are as many puruṣas as there are jīvas according to the saṁkhya.[80] But the philosophy of Jagannātha does not accept this pluralism (Bahwe-Iśvaravāda). The Supreme Lord is not the totality of the phenomenal selves. He transcends all of them although He is the sustainer of all of them. The *Brahmapurāṇa* describes the Puruṣottama as one whose principal characteristic is that he is conceivable only in terms of contradictory qualities or dharms[80a]. According to Śaiva School of thought Jagannātha is pre-eminently Śiva, the Determinate form of creative principle.* Bhairav is black in colour due to the infusion of *Sṛṣṭi mala* or the effusion of creation. This aspect of Jagannātha is proved by His possessing for his Vāhana (mount) a dog which is to be found in a minor temple known as Ananta Sayana adjoining the Mukti Mandap to its south. Subhadrā is the potency of the creation of Jagannātha, she is the Determinate form of the Indeterminate Vimalā which means a Goddess free from all sorts of Maḷas (or effusion) of creation. Baḷabhadra is mythically called the incarnation of śeṣa or Ananta Nāga which is the rudimentary element present at the beginning of the creation as is generally shown in God's Ananta Sayana Posture. So briefly it can be stated that Śaivite conception of creation has been epitomized in the Jagannātha cult.

Philosophy of Jagannātha reviewed in the light of Upaniṣadic mysticism

There is another angle from which the thing may be judged. As religion in India has a philosophical foundation this philosophy again is based upon a transcendental principle of mysticism. Unfortunately this last point which is the most basical to the rest has been over-looked not only by ordinary people but also by renowned scholars and philosophers. The mystical basis of Upaniṣadic philosophy and religion lies in 'Praṇava'. The meaning of Praṇava is not accessible to logical understanding. It is grasped only in meditation or yogic practices. How Reality is one, that is Brāhmaṇ or self, and how the individual-selves and the phenomenal universe are one with this Brāhmaṇ cannot be grasped fully by logic. It is a matter of deeper spiritual experience. *Śravaṇa* and *Manana* are to culminate in *nididhyāsana* and this *nididhyāsana* is the gate or the entrance to the otherwise inaccessible truth. Nididhyāsana leads to that mystical experience in which the philosophy of Brāhmaṇ and Ātman culminates in the philosophy of Praṇava. When Naciketā asked Yama to unfold to him the nature of the self and immortality, the reply which Yama gave was that the self or immortality was Oṁ. This is again described as *aṅguṣṭhamātrā puruṣa* in the subsequent chapters of the '*Kaṭhopaniṣad*'[81]. The *Māṇḍukya* which attempts a correlation of the various depths of experience with the various aspects of reality, begins with an analysis of 'Oṁ', and concludes with the fuller presentation of the significance of 'Om'.[82] But unfortunately this part of the Upaniṣadic doctrine is left out by the ordinary searchers on the ground of its mystic nature. But truth is mystery and the mystery is the truth, and the *tattva* which underlies all *dharmas* is hidden in the inner depths of consciousness (*dharmasyatatvaṁ nihitaṁ guhāyaṁ*)[83]. But some blame should go to our spiritual guides also because they wanted to screen off the sublime truth from ordinary enquirers and catered to them only the themes and anecdotes which could interest men of limited capacity. So philosophy came to be interpreted in terms of popular stories with fancied characters which are not historical figures at all but were intended originally to be only symbolical. But the people took the symbols or only symbolical characters in a non-symbolic way with the result that there has always remained a yawning gulf between popular religion and true religion. The relation between spiritual experience or philosophical mysticism and the elaborate philosophical systems can also be viewed in the same way. It seems that there have been three stages in the evolution of Indian spiritual thought. The original mystical experience and direct apprehension of Truth through realisation—the first stage ; an indirect representation of that truth in philosophical thoughts and themes—the second stage ; a graphic and picturesque representation of that philosophical truth again in Paurāṇic anecdotes and stories—the third stage. At the fourth stage, if it is to be called a stage at all, we have our popular beliefs in religion, morality and social laws. For a thorough understanding it is necessary to review all the stages together. This principle of interpretation if applied to the cult of Jagannātha can throw a new light on the universality of the cult. And this is substantiated by evidence, and is not a mere guess work. Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā as paurāṇic personages have one kind of appeal to the popular mind. But while the forms of Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha become easily intelligible the relevancy of the form of Subhadrā in the trinity remains an element of mystery. In the Purāṇas Subhadrā does not occupy a place of such importance that she should be associated with the worship of the other two forms Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha. In the Purāṇas Subhadrā is a sister of Kṛṣṇa and wife of the third Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and the best and the noblest in her became manifest in the house of the Pāṇḍavas and not in the house of her father or brothers. It may be that the three forms came to be known as Kṛṣṇa, Baḷarāma and Subhadrā under the religious teachings of the Vaiṣṇavas, and the female form was taken as Subhadrā, because the other two forms were to be identified as Kṛṣṇa and Baḷarāma. Varāhamihira in the 6th century A.D. however prescribes Ekānaṁśā to be worshipped along with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. She should be installed in between them. This Ekānaṁśā was later on named as Subhadrā[84]. In the Harivaṁsa Purāṇa there is a passage which throws flood of light on the presence of *Subhadrā* in between Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha. Subhadrā once appealed to Kṛṣṇa to be worshipped along with him in later years as she saved his life from the mighty hands of Kaṁsa.

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* View advocated by Pandit Maheswara Das of the Calcutta University in the Dept. of M.I.L.

Before Varāha-Mihira the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was prevalent in India. In the Nānāghāṭa cave inscription of Naganika there is mention of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva with other deities. This inscription of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. shows that the Bhāgavata religion has spread to the south.[85] Professor Bhandarkar in his "Archæological remains and excavation at Nagari, pp. 130-133" suggested that Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa were worshipped together. This was incised in the Ghosuṇḍi stone inscription of the 2nd century A.D. The Besnagar pillar inscription also supports the identification of Vāsudeva with Kṛṣṇa (Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa by P. Mukherjee, p. 4).

The formless form standing by the side of the form of Jagannātha came to be described as Sudarśana on account of similar reason. There are some again who explain these images with reference to the Caturvyūhas : Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha[86]. It is not known if the cult of Sītā Rāma ever interpreted these forms naming one as Rāma, the other one as Lakṣmaṇa and the third one as Sītā. But the facts are like this, the forms were there, and they were objects of worship, and each religious sect came to give different names to those forms suiting the exigencies of their inclination. Subhadrā is not, however, worshipped as Subhadrā alone but as Mahāśakti, Yogamāyā, Viṣṇumāyā. She is also called Kātyāyanī and Bhuvaneśvarī which are names of Durgā.[87] It seems probable that these different religious preachers arrived and prescribed these different modes of worship and ultimately some form of synthesis has resulted giving rise to the existent religious traditions and practices in the temple of Jagannātha. The cult of Jagannātha has attained universality on account of the integration of all the manifold and varied modes of worship. Again in the worship of the Lord there is no distinction of caste and creed and all the castes and communities have a distinctive role in the worship that is performed. But this is only one aspect, the religious aspect of the deities or the worshipable aspect. Behind this there is a mysterious aspect also. Mr. Peterson recounts that after the bathing festival of the forms when all the outer colouring, ornamentations and dresses are removed, the images appear in their original symbolical forms[88] (Plate No. 61). And what is the basic symbol there? This symbol is the *Praṇava*. When dilating on the Ātmatattva, *Brahmatatva* and *Praṇava Tatva*, the ancient Upaniṣads declare that each has got four "*Mātrās*" or "*Pādas*", the first three *mātrās* or *pādas* are specifically described and the fourth one which is unspecific is referred to as th transcendent (*turīya*). In respect of Ātman these four are *Jāgrat, Svapna, Suṣupti* and *Turīya*. In respect of Brāhmaṇ, these four are *Vaisvānara, Taijasa, Prājñā* and *Sāntaṁ*[89]. In the context of Praṇava these four are the four *mātrās—A, U M* and *Jyoti*. These four are not to be understood separately or in distinction.

The first three are represented in inter connected form, but the fourth one is absolutely formless. The second one is "Madhyamā" the connecting link between the first and the third and the form of Subhadrā is symbolical of that. In the statement given by Peterson, Subhadrā stands for symbolic connection merely, the connecting link between the first and the third, and he says that it is for that reason that Subhadrā has no hands. The form called Sudarśana becomes extremely significant in this context. This Sudarśana is shown on the left hand side (extreme side) of Lord Jagannātha. So this formless form is the symbol of *Turīya*, of *Jyoti* and of *Sānta*.[89a] The *Sānta* or the tranquil, says the Upaniṣada is motionless in the intimate expanse of *Ākasā* like a tree, *Stabdhaiva divi tiṣṭhatyeka*.[90] Who can say that Sudarśana which has the form of a long rod or club does not symbolise that tree which is the tranquil or the motionless one in the eternal sky, behind and beyond the manifest universe, passing through phases of birth, maturation and decay ? Who can say that it is not the symbol of *Ānanda* or Bliss into which all ultimately enter, from which all spring, and by which all are sustained ? The name Sudarśana is given to this by the Vaiṣṇavas. Again Sudarśana is a wheel, and the wheel is further taken as the Jyotirūpa of the Lord described in the Gāyatrī Mantra as the "*Bhargo deva*". The name *Ḍārubrahma* became significant in the context of this interpretation. *Dāru* or wood becomes a means of symbolisation of Brāhmaṇ. *Ātmān* and "*Oṁ*" in all its four *mātrās* or *pādas* (*Pādaśca mātrāḥ mātrāśca pādaḥ*).[91]

Praṇava is called Śabda Brahma because it is at the root of the world of sounds. "Tasyavacakapraṇavaḥ" saya the Yoga system, "*Oṁ ityetad akṣaramidaṁ sarvaṁ* or *Sarvaṁ Oṁkara eva*" says the Māṇḍukya—"*Sarvaṁ hi etad Brahma. Ayamātmā Brahma,*" the Māṇḍukya[92] continues, "*Oṁ-iti dhyayatva Ātmānaṁ*", says the *Cāṇdyogya*.[93] So Brāhmaṇ, Ātmān and Oṁ and if we like, *Parāvāk*, these four are to correlated. Strangely each has got four *mātrās* or *pādas*. As far as "Vāk" is concerned the *pādas* are *Para*, *Pasyāntī*, *Madhyamā*, and *Vaikhāri*.[94] From this context Baḷabhadra may be Vaikhārī, Subhadrā the connecting link may be Madhyamā and Jagannātha the lotus-eyed may be Pasyāntī and Sudarśana the Parāvāk. According to the Pāñcarātra School, these may be interpreted as *Virāt, Sutrātmā, Antaryāmī* and *Śuddha*.[95] There is perfect correspondence between these four and other forms like *Vaiśvānara, Taijase*, *Prājñā* and *Sānta* or *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, *Prajñā*, *Turīya* advocated by the same Pāñcarātra school.[96] So there seems to be a definite reason to believe that Jagannātha in all the four forms taken together is not only the universal deity, worshipped by all the castes of the Hindus but that it is the most ancient divinity, the one and the only Lord worshipable, the one and the only truth realisable, the one and the only end attainable namely the *Brahmaṇ*, the *Ānandam* and the *Parama Jyoti* as sighted in the deep spiritual experience by the seers of the Upaniṣads. And *Jagannātha* is *Jagannātha* not because He is the Lord of the Universe, but because He is the Universe and the source of the Universe and more particularly because He is all and everything. His total aspect is revealed in the four forms taken together and when these are taken together we not only have a comprehensive view of things, a comprehensive view of reality but we have comprehension itself. If comprehensive view is philosophy then the Philosophy of Jagannātha is not a type of philosophical doctrine, but philosophy itself.

REFERENCES

1. The History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa by Pravat Mukherjee, pp. 2 and 21.
2. "Cult of Jagannātha"—H. K. Mahtab, p. 511.
3. Reference has already been given in Chapter I.
4. History of Orissa, "Cult of Jagannātha", p. 510.
5. Ibid, pp. 510-511 and p. 525.
6. The History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, Ch. IX, pp. 123-142.
7. Reference has already been given in Ch. I.
8. The description of Sītā in the Vilaṅkā Rāmāyaṇa is almost exactly like that of Kurukula image of Tāntric Buddhism, the presiding deity of Uddiyāna (Orissa), found in the Sādhana Māḷā, Part II, pp. 344-45.
9. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVIII, 1949, pp. 31-36. For reference to Jagannātha in Hindi Literature, See J.O.H.R.S., Vol. I, No. I, pp. 41-47.
10. Sārasvata Gītā, Ch. I.
    Mahāśūṇyaku ye Brahmaboli Kahi
11. Siddhānta Dambaru, Vide, N. N. Vasu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, p. CXXXIII.
    Oṁ Śūṇyabrahmaṇe namaḥ.
12. Madhyanta Vibhāga-ṭīkā, Levi's Edition, p. 10.
    Abhūta Parikalpoasti dvayamtatra navidyate
    Śūṇyatā vidyate tatra tasyamapi sa vidyate.
13. Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. VII.
    Bhalā pacārilu gupata sandhi,
    Śūṇya puruṣa śūṇyapure vandī
    Śūṇya puruṣa udasare rahe,
    Śūṇya puruṣa savu māya vyāye.

Śūṇya puruṣa dayaḷu atai,
Śūṇya puruṣa sarva ghaṭe rahi.
Śūṇya paruṣa kare naṭa ghaṭa,
Śūṇya puruṣa jāṇe chaṇḍa kūṭa.

14. Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. I.

Yahāra rūpa rekha nāhi
Śūṇya puruṣa śūṇya dehi.
Yāhāra śūṇya ate dehi,
Āvara namathiva kāhin ?

15. Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa, Ch. III, Verse, 12-14.

Agocara puruṣa se nāhi rūpa varṇa,
Thaya thiti nahi tāra atai mahāśūṇya.
Rūpavanta nuhai se arūpa tāra dehi,
Śūṇya saṅgate se śūṇya hoithai.
Dehavanta hoike ta kariva rūpa veda,
Yāhāra mahimā vakhaṇi napāraiveda.

16. Nirguṇa Mahātmya, Ch. II.

Jīvara mokṣakalpasāra, Anādi pravu nirākāra
Bhagata janañkavisvasa, sakaḷa vūte tāra vāsa.
Jagata maṅgaḷa Īśvara, Tāra mahimā agocara
Sādhujanañkahitakare, Śūṇyare thuḷa rūpadhare.

17. Jñāna Siddhi, p. 84, the translation of the passage is taken from Dr. S. B. Dasgupta, Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism, p. 88.
18. Vide Jñāna Siddhi, p. 84.
19. For the description of Nirākāra Viṣṇu along with five other *Viṣṇus vide Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*, Ch. III ; See also N. N. Basu, Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj, pp. CLXXXVII. Mr. Artaballabha Mohanty in his preface to Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa (Prācī edition) strongly criticises Mr. N. N. Basu for his identification of the five Viṣṇu with the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Mr. Mohanty, however, seems to be quite ignorant of the theological position of the Tāntric Buddhists.
20. Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa, Ch. III.

Avarṇa aṅgaru tāra varṇa prakāśilā,
Śveta pīta kuṅkuma lohita cārikaḷā.
Jaḷadhare nirjharaka yemanta chaḍavarṇa,
Ye chaḍavarṇaru chaḍa Viṣṇu hele janma.

21. For the description of these Devas and their accessories, see the discussion Yoga, infra.
22. There are four schools of this system of Buddhism :
    1. Svabhārika, 2. Aiśvarika, 3. Karmika and 4. Yāntrika.
23. Prem Bhakti Brahma Gītā (Praci edition), Ch. I, verse 100.
24. See Śivacandra Vidyarnava Bhattacarya, *Tantratattva*, Part I, the chapter on Śaktitattva, pp. 225 ff.
25. Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. I.

Urmadhūrma Se jyotijvaḷā,
Vindu Sahite pañcakaḷā.
Uchuḍi paḍante ye pañca
Saliḷa jaḷe paḍisañca,

Jaḷe paḍante pañcavūta
Tatkṣaṇe yoga māyā jāta.

26. Ibid.

Sekaḷa rūpa nidragata, jaḷaru hoilā samvūta,
Sejaḷa napārilā rahi, urmire taḷātaḷa hoi.

27. Ibid.

Devī voile tāhājāṇi ṭu vajrakiḷā hua puṇi

* * *

Tu ādi mātā śaktī hebu, mote tu liṅga se karivu.
Ye aṅga vedi muhin thivi, sakaḷa sruṣṭi mun karivi.

28. In Chapter III of *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*. Ādimātā is represented as the universal space extending in ten directions.

29. Ibid.

Vaḷe mun hevi vaḷiāra, virāṭa nāma heva mora
Mo anta napāive kehi, Ananta nāma hevi muhin.
Āvara Baḷabhadra śesha, Monāma hoiva viśeṣa.

30. Ibid, Ch. II.

Sehise puruṣa kṣarile,
Ma akṣara volaile

* * *

Se rasun sa akṣara helā,
Rādhikā nāma volāilā

* * *

Yemisi Rādhākṛṣṇathiti,
Jīva paramahin volanti.

31. Ibid, Ch. III, 31. Ibid, Ch. III.

Se Rādhā Kṛṣṇa premarasuṇa,
Se prema rūpa Garvavasuṅ.
Tahun tripurā helā janma,
Se ādi triguṇa tā nāma,
Tini purare yeka dehi,
Yeṇu Tripurā nāma hoi.
Se dasa vujare samvūta,
Se ādi Durgā ādimāta.

32. Ibid, Ch. IV.

33. Ibid, *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā*, Ch. XXI mentions Nitya and Pramadā, instead of Lilavati and Priyavati.

34. Hevajra-tantra ; MSS. pp. 55B-56B.

Indra Gourī Yame Saurī vetalī varuṇediśi
Kauverighasmaricaiva adho vucari smṛtaḥ.
Urdho khecari prokta utpanti krama praksātaḥ.

35. Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX.

Āge Rādhā pache muhin lampata vāvare,
Yekavīja veniphāḷa yugaḷa aṅgare.

36. Ibid.
Nirākāra maṇḍaḷa se goloka rāhāsa,
Nirākāra vajana sethāku tāra āśa.
Nirākāra vajithila se vūmiki paśi.

37. Ibid.
Dayākale vṛdha mātā nirākāra mantra,
Dvātriṁśa akṣara upadeśa dele tattva.

38. Prema Bhakti Br. Gītā, Ch. I.
The same thing is also expressed in Ch. III of the text.
Yāhāku aṇākāra kahi, Se Vindu Brahma achi bahi

* * *

Se vindu yoga māyā pare, Rahilā ardha mātrā śire.

* * *

Tahun janmilā yekākṣara, Ananta sarpara ākāra,
Tāhāku sushumunā kahi, Se śiśuveda ghara sehi.
Avavi maṇḍaḷa akṣara, Se misa thāpanā Oṁkāra.

39. Ibid, Ch. IV.
Śrīrādhā Kṛṣṇa Candrāvaḷī.
Yenitya tini rūpe keli.

* * *

Kḷīṁ Śḷīṁ ku gheni hḷīṁ

40. Vide Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. IV.

41. Ibid, Ch. V.
Haa akṣara vadrasākhā, Gupatarūpe Se Rādhikā.
Re akṣara Baḷadeva, Revatipati anuvava.
Kuru akṣara Kṛṣṇa debi, Śrī Jagannātha yāhā kahi
Sṇaa Se Sudarśana Puṇa, yemante caturḍhā pramāṇa.

42. Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. VII.
Nirākāra rūpa arūpa deha
Caturdhā rūpe vije Nirākāra.

43. Ibid.
Tohara mohara śūnya kāyaṭi,
Jagata śūnya rūpare udeṭi.
Ye dehaku bavu parate na-yā
Nirākāra vaji parate yā yā.

44. Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā, Ch. VII.
Se Niḷagiri nitya sama
Teṇu Śrīkṛṣṇa nitya dhāma.
Se Nīḷagiri nitya dui
Avinna aveda atai.
Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Ch. XVIII.
Yehu Golokanityasthaḷa
Sehuṭi giri Nīḷācaḷa.

Kotie yuga yeve yai
Sethira līḷā nasarai.

45. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīkā, p. 2.
Yamaku uhāḍa mote se jnāna kahiva
Acetana pindaku cetana kariva.
Alekha Niranjananku cinhiva kemante
Ye dehaku gheni srami ra-hiva yemante.

46. Ibid, p. 3.
Ghaṭa yoga svāmi mote kahiva vistari

47. Śiva Svarodaya, p. 4.
Svādhistān muḷaru ankurodita hoi
Vāstari hajāra nāḍi deha madhye rahi.
But according to Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīkā there are altogether 60 thousand nerves:
ṣāthie sahasra nādi prakṛti vikāra, p. 3.

48. See also Gupta Gītā, Ch. III, Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. VI.
Venicaksunka madhye sthāna trikūṭa voli tāranāma.

49. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīkā, p. 6.
Tathi upare putāre Brahma randhra dvāra
Tilacopā prāya puta kapata sethāra.

50. Brahma Sāñkuli
Ujāni pavanakunei trikūṭa madhye bharatuhi.

51. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīkā, p. 6.
Brahma kapāta phitai alekhaku dekha.

* * *

Teveṭi yamara trāsa nalāgiva tote.

52. Ibid. See also Gupta Gītā, Ch. V; Chatisa Gupta Gītā, Ch. IV, for ulta sadhana of the Nātha Cult, see *Gorakṣa Vijaya*, pp. 115, 116, 145 etc. Gorakṣabodha, Verse No. 38.

53. Gupta Gītā, Ch. IV.
Tāluka Sandhire se yai,
Padmakesara ye achai.

54. Chayāḷisa paṭaḷa, Paṭaḷa No. 21.
Virāṭa Gītā, Ch. IV.

55. Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Ch. XII.
Vaḍa deuḷa se volai
Sahasra daḷa padma sehī.
Also Ibid.
Cahan doḷāre Nīḷācaḷare
Vije dāru Brahma sasra daḷāre.

56. Ibid.
Nīḷācaḷare Parama Brahma,
Rādhānka sange voga Kṛṣṇa.

* * *

Rādhākṛṣṇa yeka śarīre
Achanti supremavavare.

57. Gupta Gītā, Ch. III.
Guruṭi Brahma Hari Hara
Guruṭi Syāma Nirākāra.
58. Chayāḷiśa Paṭaḷa, Paṭaḷa, No. 30.
Nirākāra rūpa śūṇyare
Prakāsa mānava hitare
Śrīgururūpĕ avatāra
Hoicha Se Kaḷiyugara.
59. The same spirit is also found in Rudra Yāmaḷa tantra, where it is declared.
60. *Virāṭa Gītā*, Ch. IV.
See also, Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. III, Vedānta Sāra Gupta Gītā, Ch. I ; Chatisa Gupta Gītā, Ch. XXIV etc.
Brahmāṇḍe yete vidhimata,
Piṇḍare achanti-samasta.
Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa yekamata
Toāge Kahidelitattva.
61. Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Tīkā.
Anādi thāru Rudra pāile upadeśa
Teveṭi kaṭile puta kāḷa cakra pāsa.

* * *

Teveṭi kāḷa cakrare nohivu tu bheda.
62. Two Vajrayāna works, p. 31.
Praṇipatya Jagannāthaṁ Sarvajina-varārcitam.
Sarva Buddha-mayaṁ siddhi-vyāpinaṁ gaganopamam.
Sarvadaṃ-sarva satvoyaḥ sarvajña varavarārjinam.
Bhaktyāham ṣarva bhāvena vaksye tat sādhanam param.
63. Ibid, p. 26.
Paryupāsyo Jagannātho Guruḥ Sarvārtha Siddhidaḥ.
64. Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna, pp. 206-207 ; 208.
See also Govinda Vijaya of Syāmadāsa
Vangavāsi edition, p. 3.
65. Dharma Pūjā Vidhāna, pp. 214-215.
66. Sāraḷā Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva.
Saṁsār janañku tarivā nimante
Baudha rūpare vije acha Jagannāthe.
67. Dāru Brahma Gītā.
ṣaṣthadivasa antareṇa,
Pādaye pāṇi helā Kṣīna
Baudha rūpa heva Jāṇi
Pāda pāṇi chāḍile goṣāñ.
Deuḷa Toḷā :
Thākure voila rājā hoiluki va-i
Kaḷi yuge vasibun Baudha rūpa hei
68. Śūṇya Samhitā.
Baudha rūpe mahodadhi kūḷe
Bhogaviḷasivu tu seteveḷe.

69. Ibid, Ch. X.
For further references, see Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX, Ch. XIII and Ch. XXX.
Voile Acyuta tumhe suṇa āmbha vānī
Kaḷi yuge Baudha rūpe prakāśivu puṇi
Kaliyuge Baudha rūpe nija rūpa gopya
Suṇahe sakaḷa munijane dele śāpa.

70. Śaśi Seṇā, Ch. IX, verse 52.
Srinīḷagiri kanḍare Hari
Baudharūpe chanti vije kari.

71. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta.*
Śrī Jagannātha ṣoḷakaḷā
Yethun kaḷā e Nandavaḷā.

72, Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. IX.
Āmbha kaḷā puṇi yae Nadiā dvipare
Caitanya rūpe prakasa hoibun ye thare.

73. Caitanya Bhāgavata, Ch. III.
Although Sri Caitanya is regarded by the Orissan Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnation of Buddha, the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal represent him as the hater of the Buddhists. In *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* it is written :—
"He is a wretch who denies form to God ; touch not, behold not that slave of Death. The Buddhists are atheists for reciting the Vedas" (J. N. Sarkar's translation, II, p. 6).

73A. Śūṇya Saṁhitā, Ch. III, pp. 24-25.

73B. Balarāma Das Gupta Gītā, Ch. XVII, p. 18. & Skanda, Utkal khanda, Ch. XXIX, Śloka 34, and Niḷādrimahodaya, Ch, V, Page 51.

73C. Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā, Ch. V, p. 37.

74A. Kants— Critique of Pure reason—Transcendental dialectic.

74B. Kant's Critical Philosophy, Vol. II, pp. 115-116.

75. Origin and development of Sāmkṣya system of thought—P. Chakravarty, p. 315.

76A. Spinoza—Ethics, God or nature as the cause of all things and God is identical with all particular manifestations or system of effects.

76B. The book of God—B. Spinoza, pp. 17-20.
From Naturā Naturāns to Naturā Naturātā.

77. Sudarśana is Kāḷa Cakra (Ahirbudhnva Saṁhitā, Ch. 33, śloka 8) and was created first. So it is brought first to the chariot and kept with Subhadrā, the Goddess Śakti.
Tataḥcakramayam sarvam jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam Sudarsana-syaiva Kāḷacakrātmatam.

78. Bhagavat Gītā, Ch. XV, Śloka 18.

79. Origin and development of Sāṁksya system of thought—P. Chakravarty, p. 84.

80. Ibid, p. 315.

80A. *Brahmapurāṇa* :
Asthūloananūrūpo asauvāviśvovāviśvaevaca
Viruddha dharma rūpo-sau aiśvaryāt Puruṣottamaḥ
and Utkala Khanda Skanda Puraṇa, Ch. VIII, Sloka 32.

81. Kaṭhopaniṣad, II, 1. 12-13.

82. Ibid, II, 3. 17. Prapañcasāratantra, Ch. XIX.

83. Ibid, I., 2. 20.

84. Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Vol. II, Ch. I, Ślokas 39-44.

85. Archæology and Vaiṣṇava tradition by R. P. Chanda, p. 163.
86. Brahma Purāṇa, Vangavāsi Edition, Ch. LIX, p. 280.
87. Brahma Purāṇa, Ch. LIII, Śloka 58.

Namaste Sarvage devī
Namaste Sarvasankhyade
Trāhi māṁ Padma patrākṣī
Kātyāyanī namastute.

88. F. D. Patterson (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-63 "*On Jagannātha*").
89. Māṇḍukyaupaniṣad, Sloka 1-2.

Omityetadakṣaramiḍaṁ sarvanṁ
tasyopavyākhyānaṁ
bhūtambhavadbhavisyādite
Sarvamoṅkāra eva sarvaṁ
hyetadbrahmohyayamātmā
brahma soyamātmā catuṣpāt.

89A. Ibid.
90. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa III, Ch. 340, Ślokas 43-44.
Mahānārāyano Upaniṣad, Khaṇḍa IX, Sloka 4.
91. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Sūtra V, Rg, No. 8.
92. Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad and Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Sūtra V Sloka I.
93. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Mantra 10.
94. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad Slokas 1-8.
95. Viṣṇusahasranāma Stotram—Śaṅkarācārya, p. 371.
96. Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad, Slokas 1-2 and
Pañcarātra āgama. Nārada Pañcarātra, Ch. XXXIII—XXXV.

APPENDIX I

BHOGAS OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Bhogas or food offered to the God and consecrated and this becomes the prasāda or sacred livings.

We have already discussed elsewhere that the Lord Jagannātha has been conceived as an Emperor and the temple itself is His Imperial abode. The king who were ruling over the states of Orissa from long past were considering themselves as the servants of the Great Lord. The same paraphernalia as is found in a royal household, is also discernible in the temple of Jagannātha with much splendour and magnificence. The items of Bhogas that are offered daily to the deities are many and varied and they are offered with royal dignity and ceremonial purity.

(i) *Bhogas are of two kinds* :—Those that are cooked and prepared inside the temple kitchens are called Samkhuḍy. They are prepared out of rice, black gram and other vegetables :—

(ii) Those that are prepared outside the kitchen but inside the temple specified for the purpose are called *Nisamkhuḍi* Bhogas. These constitute Bhogas made out of flour, wheat, ghee, candy etc.

It is a remarkable feature that every day throughout the year fifty six varieties of dishes are prepared and offered to the deities. It has been pointed out by many a foreigner with awe and wonder that the divine kitchen of Lord Jagannātha is one of the biggest and splendid kitchen which can feed one lac of people at a time. There is a popular proverb that :

"Saḍa rasa vyañjan nānā yāti
Chapana bhog lāge dinarāti."
"Multifarious dishes of sixfold tastes
fifty six Bhogas are offered day and night)".

It is further interesting to note that beside these usual fifty-xix varieties of dishes the royal deities also take an offering of 84 varieties of Bhogas on the Makar Saṅkrānti day (on the first-day transit of sun to capricorn in the zodiac such as 13th or 14th January). The following table categorically shows eighty-four varieties of dishes. It also includes all the ingredients in brief. The asterisk marks given below shows the salt variety and the rest are sweet variety.

	Name of the Bhogas	*Ingredients*
1.	Jagannātha Vallabha	Sugar, wheat-flour, ghee, spices (i.e. cardamom, camphor)
2.	Khajā	Flour, ghee, sugar, - do -
3.	Gajā	Wheat, flour, ghee, sugar, - do -
4.	Pheṇi	Flour, sugar & ghee.
5.	Pheṇi	Powdered rice, sugar & Ghee.
*6.	Luni Khurumā	Wheat flour, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, cumin & salt.
7.	Sweet Khurumā	Wheat flour, ghee, sugar & spices.
*8.	Baḍa poori	Flour, ghee & salt.
9.	Sāna Poori (smaller size)	- do -
10.	Kākātuā Jhilli (or Baḍa Jhilli)	Black gram, ghee, powdered rice, sugar & spices.
*11.	Baḍa Nāḍi	Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice, salt & spices.
*12.	Sāna Nāḍi (smaller size)	- do -
13.	Kākarā	Flour, ghee, mollasses or sugar.
*14.	Hansa Keli	Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice, salt, ginger & other spices.
15.	Candra Kānti	Blackgram, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, salt & liquid mollasses.
16.	Baḍā	Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice (sparsely used), dried mixture of coconut & mollasses.
17.	Baḍā (smaller size)	- do -
18.	Vasanta Ārisā	Ghee, mollasses, wheat flour, powdered rice.
19.	Pāga Ārisā	Boiled mollasses, - do -
*20.	Marica Ladu	Ghee, wheat flour, mollasses & powdered black pepper.
21.	Baḍi Khirisā	Small nuts already prepared out of blackgram are added to a sweet soup of suji & mixed with milk, ghee & spices.
22.	Kadambā	To cooked rice, sugar & milk are added.

*23.	Mendhā mundiā Khecidi (Betaking the shape of lamb's head)	Rice, gram, ghee, ginger, æsaphoetida, salt & spices.
24.	Netrapoori or Tripoori	A thin gum like liquid is prepared out of the bark of Garuḍa Govinda tree or out of glutinus secretion from the 'Ou' fruit. Powdered rice is carefully churned with it in a cauldron full of ghee.
25.	Magaja Laḍu	Ghee, wheat flour, sugar & spices.
26.	Amālu	Wheat flour, mollasses, ghee, pepper & cardamom.
27.	Ḍālimba	Ghee, wheat flour, mollasses & spices.
28.	Ḍālimba (smaller size)	- do -
29.	Sara Bhajā (preparation fry)	Paruḍi, sugar & spices.
30.	Pārijātaka	Ghee, wheat flour, sugar, sweet powdered cheese & spices.
31.	Māndua	Cheese, wheat flour, sugar & spices.
32.	Vallabha Korā	Cocoanut, mollasses & spices.
33.	Gopāḷa Vallabha	Mollasses, coated rice fried with ghee, cocoanut & spices.
34.	Amṛta Rasāvaḷi	Skimmed milk cream, sugar, spices, ghee, kaju, almond, raisin.
35.	Suāri	Skimmed milk-cream, sugar & spices.
36.	Cadhei ladā or Jhadeimadā	Mixed powder of all varieties of cakes or a different preparation of blackgram, wheat flour, ghee & sugar.
37.	Baḍakānti	Blackgram, ghee, ginger & spices with liquid mollasses.
38.	Māṭha Puli	Blackgram, ghee, salt, æsaphoetida, cocoanut piecemeals & spices.
39.	Papudi (prepared outside)	Dry milk-cream.
40.	Nadiā Khudi	Cocoanut chips.
41.	Bundiā Khiri	Rolam, sugar, ghee, dry globules made of pulse-meal.
42.	Tākuā	Wheat flour, mollasses, ghee & spices.
43.	Paṇā (A drink)	Milk, sugar, plantain & spices.
44.	Mahādei Kheciḍi	Rice, gram, ginger, ghee & æsaphoetida.
45.	Mahana Bhoga	Rolam, ghee, sugar & spices.

*46.	Jenāmaṇi	Blackgram, ghee, powdered rice & spices.
47.	Suji gajā	Rolam, ghee, sugar & spices.
*48.	Bali-Bāmana Muga	Fresh grams, spices, cocoanut & ghee.
*49.	Suāra piṭha or poda piṭha	Blackgram, wheat flour, ghee, ginger, spices, cocoanut crapings.
50.	Mākhana	Curd cream, sugar, spices.
*51	Khaḷi rooṭi	Wheat flour, ghee, salt, ginger, Juani, aesaphoetida.
52.	Kānikā	Rice, sugar, grams, cardamom, clove, raisin, caju, almond and spices.
53.	Abhadā	Cooked rice.
54.	Dāli (Dal)	Redgram, fried gram, blackgram, peas, ghee, sugar and spices.
*55.	Tarakari (Curry) (Prepared free from spices.)	of varions menu i.e. Mahura, Sāga (of green leaves), Santulā (Manifold vegetables cooked), Raitā (profusely added with mustard or rye-paste), Vesara, Khatā etc.
56.	Pāyasa	Rice, sugar, milk and spices.
*57.	Enḍuri	Blackgram paste, ginger and aesaphoetida.
*58.	Adā pācana	Ginger, mollasses and churned tamarind.
59.	Khuā Mundā	Khuā (a milk product), sugar, spices, aesaphoetida and salt.
*60.	Khaira chuḷa	Wheat flour, ghee, mollasses and spices.
*61.	Laxmivilāsa	Flour, ghee and spices.
*62.	Gheea Bharna	Blackgram, ghee.
63.	Anna Rasāvali	1/2 K.g. cow ghee, 20 pieces papuri (a milk product), 1/2 K.g. Khuā, 1/2 K.g. Khirā (also a milk product), 100 pieces almond, 100 pieces raisin, 100 pieces kaju, 1/4 K g. fine rice, 1/2 K.g. sugar, 25 pieces cardamom and cinnamon etc.

and others, such as (64) Naḍu ; (65) Naḍiā keli ; (66) *Khaia cula ; (67) Moti Cula ; (68) Dhanu Saraṇā pithoi ; (69) Paṇasuā laḍu ; (70) Arakha phula ; (71) Sarakumpā ; (72) Kheimandā ; (73) Kādamba ; (74) Chenā Piṭhā ; (75) Srihasta-Korā ; (76) Rādhā Vallabhi ; (77) Enduri ; (78) Culia Kupada ; (79) Gainthā pithā ; (80) Gheuṭi, (81) Kāna-Phooli ; (82) Mendha singhiā ; (83) Khanda Mandā ; and (84) Kānti.

Another interesting feature is revealed that the deities are offered Pakhāḷa or watered rice thrice a day. The pakhāḷa which is offered for his lunch (Dwiprahara Dhūpa) is incensed with jasmine (malli flowers). After siesta in the evening

(Sandhyā Dhūpa) the deities are offered a different kind of Pakhāḷa mixed with curd, ginger cunion. For his dinner the deities are offered sweet watered rice mixed with ginger, Jeerā, ghee and sugar. (Baḍasṛngāra Dhūpa)

Prohibited vegetables :

Though the dishes are all strictly vegetarian, it also prohibits the following vegetables.

(1) Gourd, Lady's finger, potatoes, tomatoes, garlics, onion, popeya, Chachindra, Kalarā, Poi, Kalama Sag, Kobi, Bitter gourd, Snake gourd, Bottle gourd.

Seasonal Bhogas (*Besides the usual ones*) :

1. During Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha (Approximately it covers the middle of April, May and middle of June)—the deities are offered the following dishes besides the usual ones.

(i) Dahi pakhāḷa (watered rice mixed with curd)
(ii) Chenā Mānḍua
(iii) Sāga (a delicacy of green leaves)
(iv) Biripiṭhā (cakes prepared out of black gram)
(v) On paṇā or Visuva Saṁkrānti day the gheuti (made of flour, curd, cheese & mollasses) is offered in the morning and a delicious drink in the evening.

2. During the month of Āṣāḍha (during car-vestival, June-July) the deities are offered a special drink called Adhara paṇā (Adhara means lips. As such, the drink sweetens the divine lips).

3. During the month of Śrāvaṇa (Jhulan Yātrā i.e. July-August) the deities are offered Amālu & Khiri.

4. During the month of Bhādrava (Janmāṣṭamī i.e. August-September) the deities are offered the same food as mentioned above.

5. During the month of Kārtika (October-November) the deities are offered Luṇiliā (salty parched paddy) early in the morning which is called Bāla Dhūpa.

6. During the month of Pauṣa (December-January) the deities are offered Pahili Bhoga, i.e. the first food offered rather early in the morning. It is a delicious Khechidi preparation. The episode runs that as Laxmi, the divine consort moves to her father's house, Yasodā, the mother of Lord prepares herself this delicious khechidi to the utmost satisfaction of her son.

(ii) On Bakula Amāvasyā day the Gainthā cake, new mango blossoms, powdered rice fried with ghee and Nāḍi (mixed with ghee) are offered.

7. During the Makar Saṅkrānti day, in the month of Māgha (Approximately 13th or 14th January) the deities are offered Makara Cāuḷa (i.e. fresh uncooked rice, well moistened, mixed with milk, ginger, black pepper, candy, cocoanut, cheese, camphor, raisin, ripe banana etc.).

8. During the Doḷa Yātrā in the month of Phālguna (February-March) the deities are offered Caṇāgajā, Khandavari, Canaladi, (undeveloped mango fruits) (Āmbakasi) Dahaṇā cori, Ārisā, Kānti & Kākarā.

Non-animal sacrifices : According to the Tārā Rahasya, a medieval Tāntric treatise), Lord Jagannātha is conceived as Kālikā or Durgā.

"Kaḷau Kaālī Kaḷau Kṛṣṇah
Kaḷau Gopāl Kālikā

[In the Kaḷiyuga, Kāli & Kṛṣṇa (or Gopāl) are predominating deities and Gopāl (or Krishna) himself is Kāḷikā.]

So, there has been a tradition of offering either vegetable or food sacrifices in two Saṁkrāntis i.e. Makara Saṁkrānti and Dakṣiṇayāna Saṁkrānti. The sacrifice constitutes *Enduri cake* of black gram mixed with ginger and asaphoetida or curd with candy or a mixed preparation of ginger soury sauce, cocoanut and sugar. But specifically on the Makar Saṁkrānti day eight sacrifices are made after the mid-day meals.

Dhūpas (*Divine meals*) :

Morning : For morning refreshment the deities are offered the following platters, Gopāla Vallabha, fried paddy, sugar coated cocoanut, nuts, butter, Khuā, mandā papudi, fruits like mango, banana, guava, cocoanut chips etc.

For morning meals which is called Rāja Dhūpa the deities are offered as following :

Kākatuājhilli, Kānti, Enduri, ginger tonic, fried green leaves, fry-rice, dal & curries.

Fore-noon : The deities are offered *Bhoga-Maṇḍapa-Dhūpa*. It includes rice, veritable curries & cakes.

Mid-day & after-noon : They are offered Oriyā (made of rice, salt, ghee & orange juice) cooked rice, curries, cakes, sweet soup, Kākarā, Ārisā, Marica-Ladu, pomegranates, Baḍā, a drink prepared out of black pepper, banana etc.

Evening : The sandhyā dhūpa consists of cooked rice and watered rice ; Māṭhapuli ; Kanla puli ; Jenamaṇi ; Pārijātaka ; Māndua ; Rasāvali ; Suāri ; dal & other curries etc.

Night : The platters are called Badasinhāra Dhūpa or Sāyana Dhūpa. It consists of sweet watered rice ; banana, Baḍā ; plantain fry ; Bhoga Kshiri, a liquid made of rice milk, sugar & spices ; cadhei meda ; green cocoanuts & betels (sandal paste instead of lime & without tobacco).

How are the Bhogas placed before the deities :

All the dishes that are cooked and prepared inside the kitchen are not ordinarily brought to the presence of the deities. An age old convention is still observed with devotion and austerity with regards to the placement of the Bhogas before the deities. Those who carry it from the kitchen are the Suāras and Mahāsuāras. They are strong and clean bodied persons free from diseases. Their mouths are closely wrapped so that no spit or saliva or even the direct breath will contaminate it. They almost move in a line while the pilgrims or visitors are not allowed to touch them. They carry the Mahāprasāda on their shoulders with the help of yoke. The dried Mahāprasāda is carried in Sarā (round shaped earthen platter) by the Suāras in their unfolded palms.

On the eve of each Dhūpa, the Padhiharī (or pratiharī i.e. one of the temple attendants, specifically engaged in Dhūpa work) goes upto the kitchen and summons the suāra and Mahāsuāra in the following manner.

> "Ye Suāras & Mahāsuāras ! (For this particular Dhūpa) Let the Amṛta Maṇohi Bhogas be brought to the presence of their holiness, the deities !"

After this announcement the suāras carry the dishes to the deities.

Divinity in the Mahāprasāda :

The Mahāprasāda is conceived as the Brahma itself. Throughout India it is widely acclaimed as a separate divine entity for the people even at distant places look upon this as the same lord, they worship it and swear by it even in hard disputes. The faith confirms it that the dishes are prepared by goddess Laxmī and deities take it from the Ratna Vedi or the Divine Altar where the deities are seated. The dishes carry a spell by themselves as these are offered to the deities while the austere pandās go on reciting the holy mantras. There is an echo of the vedic ritualistic tradition which is being strictly observed by the priests.

The dried cooked rice which is widely known as the Nirmālya even assumes the same serenity and the pilgrims in India carry it along with them as a token of divine presence and sanctity. It is needless to point here in every household in

Orissa, this Nirmālya is preserved and the people never forget to partake of it before they take their principal food.

Thousands of widows young or old from different states including Orissa flock to Purī in the month of Kārtika (October-November) every year where they stay for a month in order to take the Mahāprasāda. This is, indeed, a unique feature.

These eighty-five types of delicacies really form the acme of the Hindu vegetarian cooking at the time of building and consecration of the temple. The list of Bhogas has a unique cultural value as it shows the gastronomical taste of the Hindus in vegetarian cooking. The main dishes have never been changed so that any one can find out the food, the then kings and great men ate in Orissa and in eastern India in the 12th century A.D. Sometimes number of new dishes are also added.

In the Ayain Ākbari the full descriptive gazetteer composed in persian by Akabar's order there is a detailed account of Akabar's kitchen and in that account given a list of thirty types of dishes among other hundred which would be kept ready for Akabar in his kitchen. These thirty dishes are—ten pure vegetarian, ten of mixed vegetables and meat and ten only meat. This shows the highest achievement of Indo-persian cooking as developed by Indian muslims. In that list the Āyin Akabari gives the ingredient for each dish and the amount of each ingredient in preparing a report for number of people. In an article "the diet of the great moghuls published in Islamic culture, 1959 there is also mention of 100 dishes usually served in the court of Akabar.

The following extract is taken from the Jagannātha Kaifiyat * (regarding the history of the Mahāprasāda.)

During the reign of Yayāti, the Brāhmiṇs and monks were not preparing the Mahāprasāda. Once the Lord Jagannātha commanded the ruling king in his dream.

> "Prepare rice and dishes according to the principles, Offer them to Me and invite all Brahmins and anchorites to dine."

As per the divine instruction, Yayāti Keśarī did so. But despite his requests to the venerable sorts, the latter did not accept it as holy dishes. Then after the king prayed to God and himself observed fasting. Again he was advised in his dream. He further more prepared such delicious dishes and extended an appeal to all the monks and brahmins.

"Ye revered sirs, please accept these dishes.
Lord Jagannātha has commanded me."

Hearing this, all unanimously replied, "If Jagannātha would so bid us, then only we shall accept these things."

Yadi Asmānāgnyāpayisyati Devah
Tada Asmabhistad Bhoktavyamiti.

Satya yuge Indradyumnāya Sākṣāt śrī-mukhāt Agnyām datwā dwādasa-yātrā agnyāpayat. Tadasmākam Yadyāgnyadiyate tadā bhoktavyamiti.

During the Satya era, the God himself commanded the King Indradyumna to celebrate twelve festivals in twelve months. So, if the God, himself would so command us, we will accept this.

During such conversation, certain dumb brahmin arrived there who came for a visit to Jagannātha. Yonder pointing him, the entire gathering of brahmins and monks shouted.

"If this dumb brahmin would be able to speak after taking this so-called Mahāprasāda, then only we will accept it."

Accordingly, the dumb brahmin was made to sit near the Mahāprasāda and was requested to sing its glory after taking a morsel of it. Strangely enough, the brahmin spontaneously chanted out two verses in praise of the Mahāprasāda.

Are vidwanmanyānanadhigatavedārthanigamān
Mayā bhukte hyanhe mama parijaneisced mamānujey
Tasmin dehe nasinnabhavatu bhabanto bahughruṇā.
Na gangayāh peyam Saba-Tanu-Galat Nabya Kaḷitaṁ.

(O' self conceited erudites ! you are ignorant of the knowledge of the vedas and other scriptures. When I enjoy the Mahāprasāda, my kins are also enjoying. You should not bear any hatred towards them for the Mahāprasāda does not stale them. As the water of the Ganges is not polluted even though the rotten flesh of the corpse is borne aloft it.)

The dumb brahmin uttered thus and took the Mahāprasāda with pride and

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* This unpublished MSS. has been traced form Mackenzie's collection in 1819 preserved in Madras Oriental Museum and is being edited by the Author. This Jagannātha kaifiyat is otherwise known as "Udra deśa Rāja Vaṃśāvaḷi".

profound faith. Consequently, all the brahmins and monks present there took Mahāprasāda ungrudgingly and wiped their hands on their head as a mark of devotion and satiety. Since then, the Bhogas offered to the deities are being accepted as the Mahāprasāda by all irrespective of caste and creed.

List of clothes kept for use of the idols taken on the 18th September, 1813*.

Dassee Putnee	7
Manee Bundee	25
Putnee Khundooa	43
Sauree of silk	31
Silk Fotah	21
Numabobe	24
Khondooa (Numabobe)	34½
Saree ,,	35
Fotah ,,	31
Chonkaband Khondooa	3
- Do - Fotah	2
Mahoruttee Khondooa	14
Antguree Khondooa	6
Marhattee Saree	29
Antagurree Saree	12
Sarees of different countries	13
Marhattee Dhotee	30
Orissa Dhotee	3
Dhotee and Chaddurs of different countries	4
Kantch Dhootees of different counties	9
Silken Dhootees	3
Benaressy Dopata	20
- do - Sauree	1
Jurree Assawneea Arnee	12
Kuppurdhool of different kinds	29
Kuppurdhool of Pattooka	5
Silk Lenga	1
Jurree Seerpench	8

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* The spelling of cloths and ornaments is retained here in accordance with the list made by the British Government. This list is reproduced here by the kind permission of the Board of Revenue, Orissa Govt.

Chuddurs of different kinds	29	
Remnants of cloths	24	
Duknee Dhotee & Chudders	6	(cotton)
- do - Saree	10	-do-
Dacca Cloth (cotton)	1	
Pugrees of different kinds (cotton)	23	
Daputtas of different kinds (cotton)	37	
Dhotee (cotton)	19	
Saree -do-	7	
Fotah -do-	4	
Wotteree -do-	10	
Coba buggee chool phoota Head cloth (cotton)	2	
Sree Kupra coarse cloth	24	
Kantch Dhottee of different kinds	20	
Remnants	5	
Pulung Posh	15	
Koosnarjun chal Deer skin	1	

Another enclosure from Collector, Cuttack's letter 13th December, 1813, p. 210, Vol. II.

Jewels belonging to the Deity (*Gold*)

Khund (Sword)	1
Dhal (Shield)	1
Kuttar	1
Dhannoo (Bow)	1
Khurroo ornament for the wrist	2
Nappoor ornament for the feet	2
Jutt ornament for the hair	1
Goojur khunoo ornament for the wrist	2
Lobe ornament for the ear	4
Rings	5
Jubba hurrera tassels	8
Joopee ornaments for the forehead	2
Puddom Mallee Necklace	3
Gool Kuntee Mallee Necklace	7

Checha Kuntee Malee Necklace	...	2
Habooree Mallee Necklace	...	2
Mirga Malee Necklace	...	1
Mohun Malee Necklace	...	3
Sursoo Kuntee Malee Necklace	...	1
Paun Pattree Kuntee Necklace	...	1
Goongroo Malee Necklace	...	2
Khhud bartee—silver quiver	...	1

The above list shows that the dresses and ornaments were endowed to the deities by people from different countries.

APPENDIX II

THE IMPACT OF THE CULT OF JAGANNĀTHA ON THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORISSA

As the nerve centre of the human body influences every physical part of it, so also the institution of Jagannātha influences every sphere of life in Orissa, political, cultural, social, religious and economic.

A religion and its deity are the products of the spiritual and mental uplift of the people and consequently, the nature of the deity and religion determines the nature of the people by whom they are conceived. The truth is applicable to the concept of Jagannātha. He is conceived as a deity of all impressive nature in whom all the sectarian religions are merged and cosmopolitanism in the concept of the deity has led to the cosmopolitanism in the manners and behaviour of the people of Orissa towards others. All sects of religious views prevalent throughout India with their different nature, different tendencies and different angles of vision are all merged in the cult of Jagannātha.

The various Avatāras (incarnations) appearing in the field of social and religious institutions professing different sectarian worship throughout India are said to be partial manifestations or incarnations of Lord Jagannātha and He is the sumtotal of these incarnations. So, Acyutānanda Dās, one of the *Pañca Sakhās* and a poet Philosopher of Orissa, has rightly said,

Avatāra daśa ehi dārù rūpa ehi dārure se līna
Iśwara sākṣāte lịḷāra nimante bije ratna—
—Simhāsana (1)

This indicates the cosmopolitanism of the cult of Jagannātha in which, according to the belief of a Hindu, lies the fullness of the practical spiritual life. So, it is generally believed that the visit to other sacred places may serve some partial aspects of spiritual life, but a visit to Jagannātha at Purī after the visit of other sacred places in India leads to the final salvation which is indicated in the Ṛg mantra :

Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ pāre apuruṣam
Tadā rabhasva durhoṇo tena gacha parastaram (2)

Śayanacarya, the famous commentator of the 13th century, has rightly interpreted the mantra with sepcial reference to Puruṣottama Jagannātha and affirmed that he is the final goal to salvation. This religious aspect of the Jagannātha cult has exerted an influence over the social and religious life of the people of Orissa in general, among whom brotherly tie is established on the basis of the final realisation of life.

As regards, bhoga in the paraphernelia of worship of Lord Jagannātha, we find the same truth that this cult has assimilated all sorts and modes of worship prevailing in this great country.

Let us take the example of Mahāprasāda, the like of which is nowhere found in India. Food is the first and greatest of all necessities of human life and existence. That food is not only offered to the deity but is also meant for all the people, who whatever their position may be, can satisfy their hunger with ease and comfort. Food is always ready in the temple showing us as if the Lord of the Universe sits there on the *Ratnavedī* holding out His hands for giving food to His hungry and devoted beings. All the seasonal foods offered to the deity are made available to the public. This arrangement has been based on humanitarian consideration which is the main purpose of worship in the temple. On the whole, through this arrangement an attempt has been made to realise human life in its true aspect as stated in the Upaniṣada :—

Yasya sarbāṇi bhūtāni ātmaibabhutavijanatā
Tasya ko mohaḥ ko śokaḥ............ ...ekatvamanupasyataḥ (3)

It means that he, who realises within himself all the emotions as his own self, faces no trouble, whatsoever. In the social life of some parts of India in general and Orissa in particular, whatever is done in the shape of welfare of the family of the individual is attributed to Lord Jagannātha.

In the marriage and other religious ceremonies, the house-hold people think it as their duty to satisfy their guests with *Mahāprasāda* of Jagannātha before serving them with other kinds of food. This reminds us the couplet of the Gītā.

Yat karosi Yadaśnaṣi Yajjuhosi dadasi yat
Yatbā Pasyasi kaunteya tatkuruvṣa madarpaṇam (4)

This process has helped our people in establishing brotherly relationship in their social life. Before entering into any social relation such as marriage, the parties come together to take oath before Lord Jagannātha to make their relation firm and permanent. The priest of Jagannātha and their agents known as Paṇḍās move about the whole country to collect pilgrims for the visit of Jagannātha and this has brought the whole of Orissa in close contact with other parts of India and thus, the tie of fraternity has been fostered through the movements of Paṇḍās throughout the country. The Oriya language has, to some extent, been known to the people of other parts of India and vice versa, through this process. On account of this language—study on the part of the Paṇḍās, Purī has attained a Pan-Indian status in comparison with other sacred places of India.

Cases involving religious controversies in any part of India particularly Orissa, are referred to the *Muktimaṇḍapa* which stands as the judiciary of the temple[5]. This *Muktimaṇḍapa* is the famous seat of the learned men associated with Jagannātha temple and the verdict pronounced by this august assembly of Paṇḍits, is accepted by the contending parties with great respect.

As has been said before that in the days of yore when Orissan kings held sovereignty over the country they had to seek the favour of Lord Jagannātha for their success in administration or participation in war. Lord Jagannātha is deemed to be the supreme monarch of the country and the Rājā of Orissa is regarded as His representative. Even the *Yātrās* held in honour of Jagannātha have great influence on the religious and cultural life of the people of Orissa. Take for instance the *Śayana Yātrā* in the temple of Lord Jagannātha, when the Lord goes to sleep. During the period of this *Śayana Yātrā* lasting for 3 months all ceremonies such as marriage, Upanayaṇa (sacred thread ceremony), the coming of the bride to her father-in law's place, (*Nava-Vadhū Yātrā*) etc. are all suspended and during the rising ceremony of the Lord (*Devotthāna*), all these activities are resumed. During the *Ratha Yātrā* festival of the Lord, all kinds of trees are planted in various parts of Orissa, because these days of the festival are considered to be the most auspicious. The first fruit of any crop grown in Orissa is presented or assigned to the Lord. Theatrical performances open with an invocation to Lord Jagannātha. In ancient Oriya literature most of the famous works begin with a prayer to the Lord(s). Even Muslim poets have sung the glory of Jagannātha in some of their invocatory verses. Poets like Salabega and Lede Haridas are regarded as devotees of Lord Jagannātha. Children are considered to be the gifts of the Lord and when they are born or saved from calamities, the parents go to the temple and offer lamps goes up the number of which sometimes, to one lakh.

Lord Jagannātha is not only the real king of Orissa but also He is the landlord of all parts of India. There is no important region in India where the Lord has no land of his own. He is the only deity in India in whose favour donations of land have been made by the Rājās and Mahārājās and also by the common people. Apart from the actual donation of land, a kind of spiritual dedication of life and property also is made to Him all over India. Men and women are named after Him, as Jagannātha Dāsa ; villages and farmyards and market places bear his name e.g. Jagannāthpūr, Jagannāth Prāsād, Jagannāth Hāṭ etc. and cattle and trees are dedicated to Him. It is no exaggeration to say that Jagannātha is the biggest landlord in India. He is also the richest deity of the country. Donations in several forms besides land and money such as utensils, ornaments, dresses, furniture, horses, elephants etc. are made to Jagannātha by all classes of people.

Jagannātha is a frame of reference for any form of greatness throughout the country. He is the *Baḍa Ṭhākur*, the Chief among the Gods. His temple is the *Baḍa Deula*, the chief temple among the temples and the path in front of His temple is the *Baḍa Daṇḍa*, the chief path-way. The sea washing the shores of His Kṣetra is called *'Mohodadhi' or the great ocean.* Even the cremation ground here is named as Svarga Dvāra or gateway to the Heaven. In worshipping Him all the deities are worshipped, and in visiting His seat or Kṣetra all pilgrimages are made. He is conceived as the king, the co-subject, the father, the brother and the son in one. All religious practices, social customs and cultural activities get their sanction by reference to what is followed in His temple and the deviations, if any, are also made with humble supplication of His sanction. The Lord of the Lords is the ideal of all ideals for the people.

Viewed from all points, Lord Jagannātha would appear to be the supreme authority in all matters—social, political, religious and cultural and Purī, the seat of Lord, is no doubt the nerve centre of Orissa and the greatest religious centre of India.

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APPENDIX IV

EKĀNAMŚĀ AND SUBHADRĀ

The worship of Śakti or Devī was popular in ancient and medieval India. Ekānaṁśā was then considered to be a special form of Durgā or Śakti and her worship was also a regular practice in ancient times.[1] In the Mahābhārata, Ekānaṁśā was associated with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In the Virāṭa Parva she has been identified with the daughter of Yaśodā who saved the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Baḷarāma from the mighty hands of Kaṁsa. She was then called Yogamāyā or Yoganidrā and was said to be the sister of Kṛṣṇa.[2] During the Muhammedan ascendency in India, Śāktism had a great sway over the people and so the worship of Ekānaṁśā was a regular phenomenon all over the country. The Mahābhārata also identifies this Goddess with Kuhu, the daughter of Aṅgirasa.[3] The word Ekānaṁśā literally means a goddess who is one and not a part of any other—both Advaita and Akhaṇḍa at the same time.

As Ekānaṁśā and Subhadrā were described side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Baḷarāma from the days of the Mahābhārata, both were treated as identical by the 8th century A.D. Curiously enough, the Utkaḷakhaṇḍa section of the Skanda Purāṇa attempts to identify Subhadrā with Lakṣmī. In one passage of the same, Subhadrā is described as the Śakṭi[4] of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa inspite of her being a sister of the latter. Perhaps the identification of Ekānaṁśā with Subhadrā was made during the period of composition of the Skanda-Purāṇa. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* it is said that the image of Ekānaṁśā should be placed in between Baḷadeva and Kṛṣṇa and that her left hand should rest on the waist and the right should carry a lotus.[5] Thus, Ekānaṁśā is identified with the Goddess Subhadrā.

A living example of the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Ekānaṁśā-Baḷarāma is found at Purī in the temple of Jagannātha. The central figure there is not named as Ekānaṁśā but as Subhadrā. The presence of three symbolic images (representing Baḷarāma-Subhadrā-Jagannātha of the holy triad) in the temple of Jagannātha at Purī has given rise to various speculations as to their original character. Some scholars see in these images an influence of the Buddhist doctrine of Tri-ratna and others of the Vaiṣṇavite representations of Baḷarāma-Subhadrā-Kṛṣṇa. Mr. J. C. Ghosh has tried to show that this triad represents only the superimposition of Vaiṣṇavism over Śāktism[6]. Traces of Śāktism are also found in the two subsidiary shrines of Vimaḷā and Annapurṇā in the temple-enclosure of Lord Jagannātha. Vimaḷā and Subhadrā represent, however, the two aspects of Durgā-Ekānaṁśā. When the Śākta deity became Vaiṣṇavised and was identified with Subhadrā, Śāktas started worshipping Vimaḷā in the temple compound[7].

Although various interpretations are given to the image of Subhadrā being placed between Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha, none of them is satisfactorily dealt with. The word *Subhadrā*[8] literally means a goddess who is amiable, blessed, auspicious, prosperous, good, gracious, friendly, kind and excellent and the benefactress of the world and the presence of such a goddess between Jagannātha and Baḷabhadra provides the temple with an air of magnificience. The fact that Subhadrā has no hand is a sure sign to indicate that she has no separate existence of her own and she is a part of the whole. So she cannot be studied in isolation. She is the creative energy which governs the entire universe. She, because of her position in the middle, is a connecting link between Baḷabhadra and Jagannātha.

The *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra* (Circa 800 A.D.) in its section "*Puruṣottama Sthāpana Paṭalam*" identifies Ekānaṁśā with Subhadrā. The text also says that the Goddess should be consecrated according to the procedure of installation followed in the case of Lakṣmī. The *Utkalakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanḍa Purāṇa* also supports this by identifying Subhadrā with Lakṣmī (Ch. XIX, V. 17 and Ch. XXVII, Vs. 11-14). The deity Subhadrā according to the *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra*, should be placed on the right side of the Lord Puruṣottama and on the left of Baḷarāma whose eyes are rolling through excessive drink. This procedure of placing the deities has been followed in the temple of Jagannātha[9].

Several medieval stone and bronze reliefs of Ekānaṁśā have been discovered in India. One such bronze image of Ekānaṁśa with the other two associates has been preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneśvara. Another living example of worship of this deity Ekānaṁśā is to be found in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneśvara. Here also the deity is placed in the middle and the other two i.e., Kṛṣṇa and Baḷarāma are on her two sides. These three deities are called Śiḷā Brahma, whereas in the Jagannātha temple they are called Dāru Brahma.

Some writers, quoting a śloka from the Skanḍa Purāṇa (Tasya Śakti Svarūpeyaṁ Bhaginī Strī Pravartikā) consider Subhadrā as both the sister and the wife of Jagannātha. But this idea is fantastic because in the realm of Hindu religion the concept of brother-sister worship is not a prevailing feature. On the other hand there is the worship of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* or a God and His consort. Perhaps either the critics have wrongly read the *Śloka* in the *Skanda Purāṇa* or the editors of the said Purāṇa have misrepresented the fact. The Śloka may stand as "Bhaginī Sva Pravartikā" with more authenticity. The word 'Bhaginī' in this context may not be taken in the ordinary sense as 'sister' but as a Śakti who is endowed with *Bhagas* or *Aiśvaryas*. The words 'Sva Pravartika' may mean one who can act herself and make others act according to her wish, *Svayaṁ eva Pravartituṁ Pravartayituṁ Vā Śīlaṁ yasyāḥ sā svapravartikā*—Ichā-śakti. This new interpretation suggested by us will suit to our theory. So Subhabrā here stands for Ādyaśakti or primal energy of God and should be considered as the Śakti of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and not as a sister and wife at the same time as advocated by those scholars. The Saivāgama of Bhojarāja describes this Māyā Śakti of Īśvara (God) as the creator of *Kāla* (time)

Nānāvidha śaktimāyyeṣā janayati kāḷatatvamevādau
Bhavi Bhava bhuti-māyāṁ kāḷayeti jagat kāḷo ataḥ
(Kāla Nirūpanaṁ Gadādhara Padhati, pp, 2-3)

It is interesting to note here that during Ratha Yātrā festival Sudarśana being the kāla cakra is first of all brought to the chariot and placed with Subhadrā. This is suggestive of Subhadrā being the creator of kāḷa and she is endowed with different powers or energies.

Moreover, according to the *Rūdra Yāmala Tantra* (Ch; XIV, S1,24), Subhadra is the Goddess *Rāginī* and she is to be worshipped with Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha and Rāma-Baḷabhadra. According to the same text (Ch, XXXXII, Sl 112), Subhadrā is conceived as the Śakti or Bhairavi and Jagannātha as Bhairava. Here Jagannātha and Subhadrā are described as one and the same. The same text while describing the Kṛṣṇa Mantra (Ch XXXVIII, Sl 4-5) states that Baḷabhadra and Kṛṣṇa are the Brahmas and Subhadrā is the Śakti *Kākini* united as Prakṛti and Puruṣa (Ch. XXXXII, Sl. 110).

Let us now see how these three deities stand at the three levels in divine emanation.

Balabhadra stands for the Noumenal and the Transcendent—the unchangeable, the unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure absolute, Śiva or "the pure form of the good" (Plato) or the pure form of reason (Aristotle), the *cit* or "the pure consciousness" (Advaita), the ungiven—the Infinite (purṇamadaḥ) and full in itself. The method of realisation of this form is pure knowledge or Jñāna. In relation to Jagannātha, therefore, he appears to us as a form of Antithesis.

Subhadrā stands for the phenomenal immanent whole, the changeable order (kṣara), the qualified (saguṇa), the manifest (vyakta), Prakṛti or Śakti, the Sat—existential, the world-pervading, the given Infinite (Idaṁ sarvaṁ), Natura Naturata (Spinoza). The method of realisation of this form is karma or action. In the same context she may be called a form of *Thesis*.

And finally *Jagannātha* stands for the Absolute—Puruṣottama, synthesis of the qualified and the unqualified, the transcendent and immanent, the manifest, and the un-manifest, parama Brahma and the ultimate bliss or ānanda. The method of realisation of this form is bhakti or prema. Hence, Jagannātha may be called a form of *Synthesis*.

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APPENDIX V

DESECRATION OF THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

The fabulous account of the riches of the temple of Jagannātha served as an inducement to the Muhammadan invaders of Bengal to raid it from time to time. Some iconoclasts were also in their religious fanaticism prompted to attack the Hindu temples. In 1361 A.D. Feroze Saha Toglak invaded Orissa in the reign of Vanu Deva III and made the king of Orissa prisoner.

It is stated in Muslim chronicles that Feroze Saha ordered the destruction of the images of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā and it was carried out. There is however a controversy about the location of the Jagannātha Temple destroyed by Feroze Saha's soldiers. There was a Jagannātha Temple in the Barabati Forṭ at Cuttack then known as Vārāṇasī to the Muslim invaders which was actually occupied by the army of Feroze Saha Toglak. So it is not known whether Jagannātha Temple situated at Cuttack or the famous temple at Purī was destroyed and desecrated by Feroze Saha. Since the Jagannātha Temple is still standing intact it is most likely that the temple desecrated by Firoze Saha was standing in the Barabati Fort at Cuttack.

There was a raid by Sultan Hussain Shah in 1509 during the reign of Pratāparūdra Gajapati, when he was away in an expedition. The priests removed the images of the presiding deities in a boat and concealed them in the Chadāi guhā hill of the Cilkā lake. The Sultan, in rage and disappointment, broke many other images in the temple, but retreated on return of the Gajapati king from his southern expedition.

The next attack on the temple was made in 1569 by Kālāpāhāḍ the general of Sulaiman Karani during the reign of Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa. Kālāpāhāḍ is said to have been a Brāhmiṇ converted to Islam. After his conversion he came to Purī to perform expiation in the temple of Jagannātha, where he was turned out and insulted by the priests. That is why he invaded Orissa to wreak his vengeance on the temple and its priests But this belief is disproved by historical examination, which shows that Kālāpāhāḍ was an Afghan and not a Brāhmiṇ, whose real name was Rāju[1]. His invasion of Orissa was a sequel to the continued hostilities between king Mukunda Deva and Sultan Sulaiman Karani of Bengal. At first Mukunda Deva made heroic attempts to repulse the Muslim attack, but his attempts were ineffective owing to the treachery of some of his officers[2]. According to tradition Mukunda Deva died fighting with the Muslims at Gohira Tikri, near Jājpur[3]. But the Mādalā Pāñji[4] says that when the Oriya king was staying at Kotisimā fort in the Hughli district, he got the news of the occupation of Cuttack by Kālāpāhāḍ and also of the revolt Rāmacandra Bhañja, Commandant of Sārangagarh, who proclaimed himself as king. So he submitted to the Sultan and left for Sarangagarh to fight with Rāmacandra[5]. In the fighting both of them were killed on the same day. With the death of Mukunda Deva, Orissa lost her independence and was occupied by the Afghans.

Kālāpāhāḍ entered the coastal area near Balasore through the highlands of Mayurbhañj. According to the Mādalā Pāñji he came to Cuttack through the Kāṇsabaṇsa river. Kṛpāsindhu Miśra says that after the occupation of Jājpur followed by that of Cuttack, Kālāpāhāḍ raided Bhuvaneśvar, Purī and Koṇārka. According to a legend, he invaded Sambalpur also. The broken images almost everywhere bear testimony to the ravages caused by this relentless persecutor of Hindu faith[6]. The Superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha, Parichhā Dibya Siṁha Paṭṭanaik had concealed the images beforehand near the Cilkā lake. Kālāpāhāḍ however traced them out and carried them away upon the back af the elephants to the bank of the Gaṅgā where he set fire to them. According to tradition, which is disproved by historical facts, the notorious iconoclast died on the spot miserably as a consequence of sacrilege[7]. A by-stander threw the charred images of Jagannātha into water. The charred remnants floated down the stream. Bisor Mahānti, a Vaiṣṇava devotee followed it and extracted *Brahma* or the sacred part of it and secretly entrusted it to a Khandāit of Kujang. Later Rājā Rāmacandra Deva of Khurdā brought it back frome Kujang and installed it in a new image. Before leaving Purī, Kālāpāhāḍ desecrated the temple of Jagannātha, plundered the store, damaged other images and uprooted and set fire to the Kalpavaṭa tree.

Regarding the burning of the images by Kālāpāhāḍ, Abdul Fazl states that Kālāpāhāḍ flung the images of Jagannātha, Baḷabhadra and Subhadrā into fire and burnt them and afterwards cast them into the sea[7]. It is assumed that the images were taken to the sea-shore near Kujang where Besar Mohanty was present[8]. Kālāpāhāḍ long survived the desecration of Jagannātha temple and was killed in 1583[9].

In the state of anarchy prevailing on the death of Mukunda Deva, Ramai Rautra son of Bhoi Janārdana Bidyādhar declared himself as Rāmacandra Deva, the Gajapati king of Orissa with his capital at Khurda[10] The Moghul army under the command of Raja Todar Mall, Revenue Minister of Akbar, brought the Afghan regime to its end after killing Daud, the successor of Sultan Sulaiman Karani, and Orissa became a part of the Mughal empire. Todarmall, however, recognised

Rāmcandra Deva as a semi-independent king with a small territory in his possession Subsequently Rājā Mansingh came to effect the final conquest of Orissa. He enlarged the territory of Rāmācandra Deva but reduced him to the position of a feudatory ruler of the Mughal Emperor. During the reign of Puruṣottama Deva, the son of Rāmacandra Deva the temple of Jagannātha was plundered by Kesodas Māru a Rajput officer under Jehangir. He came on a pilgrimage to Purī and after entering the temple he converted it into a fort. The soldiers of king Puruṣottama Deva fought and were defeated.

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APPENDIX VI

CHATISĀNIYOGA*

Chatisāniyoga refers to thirty-six categories of servants employed in the temple. But at present there are 101 categories of servants (Sevakas) as recorded in the report of the Special Officer, Jagannātha temple. They are—

1. *Rājā* of Purī—Superintendent. (At present one of the Members of the Temple Committee).
2. *Mudiratha* or *Mudirasta*—He officiates for the Rājā in Cherāpaharā and other functions when the Rājā is prevented from performing them for some reason or other.
3. *Chatishā Nijago Nāyak Pātjoshi Mahāpātra and Bhandār Nāyak*—He had vast power and functions in the Past but many have disappeared at present and he is of the Pasupālak class and had the key of the Bhandār till 1930. He is to execute all orders of the Temple authorities and to see that all the Sebakas do their duty properly. Performs Sāri Bandhā ceremony.
4. *Bhitarcho Mahāpātra*—He is the first man to go for Dwārfitā ceremony (opening of the doors) and to examine the seals, performs Sāri Bandhā ceremony and checks the purity of the Bhog offered.
5. *Talicho Mahāpātra*—He seals doors at night Pahuḍa (retiring to bed) and controls and checks the purity of the Kitchen.
6. *Bhandār Mekāp*—In charge of Bāhār Bhandār containing all the jewellery, etc., required for the daily use of the Deities.
7. *Parichās*—Parichās were at one time managing the Temple whose work is now reduced at present to hold a gold cane at the Sakāḷa Dhupa Patuāra and in certain festivals.
8. *Deul Karana*—He keeps accounts of the Bhandār, Chāngadā Ghars, transfer of Seba and distributes Parbāṇi Kheis.
9. *Tadāū Karana*—He keeps accounts of the Bhandār and as Tadāū puts seals in functions when required and puts dates about all Nīti.
10. Various other kinds of Karans who keep accounts and distribute Kheis, etc.

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*The list is taken from the report of the Special Officer under Sri Jagannatha Temple Act (1957), Orissa.

11. *Charchiat*—Who make Charchā or to see that the Nitis are performed regularly.
12. Brahmins or Purohit, including Deul Purohit who makes Rath Anukuḷa, Avisek, etc. Śrī Bimaḷā Pujak, who perform Pujā in Shol-Pujā and Shrotriya Brahmins who are deputed for Nabakalebar to perform as Ācāryas and the various other ceremonies connected therewith.
13. Pujaks consisting of Pujā Paṇḍās who perform Pujā, i.e., Naibedya for the deities and the Baḍa-Paṇḍā is also a Pujā Pandā appointed to see that other pujā Pandās perform their duties regularly.
14. Daitas who work on special occasions like Nabakalebar, Car festival, Anabasar, etc.
15. Patis who work with Daitas but who have got other special functions, being Brahmin Sebaks.
16. Duttas who work for Shrimukh Sinhar.
17. Khuntias of various kinds like Pāḷia Khuntiā, Beherā Khuntiā, Bilaijagā Khuntiā, Rukuṇā Haraṇa Khuntiā, etc., their main duty being to pronounce Manimā Dāk, etc., and watch the Deities.
18. Chāngaḍā Mekāp who is in charge of Deities' clothes and other Mekāps like Pāḷiā Mekāps have specific duties to perform. Akhanḍ Mekāp is to light Ratna Dīpa of the Deities from Dwar-fitā to Pahuḍa.
19. Padhiaris who guard the Deities, go to call for Bhogs and are to look to the safety of the pilgrims.
20. *Gochikārs*—They belong to Padhiāri class who watch Jaya-Bijaya Dwār.
21. *Bīṇākar*—Who plays Bīṇā to the Deities before they go to sleep.
22. *Bhitar Gāyeṇi*—Sings songs at the time of Pahuḍa and at other festivals.
23. *Samprada Nijog*, i.e., dancing girls who dance at the time of Patuāra.
24. *Mādeli*—Plays Mādaḷa at the time of Patuāra.
25. *Sankhuā*—Plays with Sankh with Baijayantries.
26. *Kāhāliā*—Blows Bije Kāhāḷiā.
27. *Ghanṭuā and Ghanṭa Nijog*—Working with Bells daily and on festivals.
28. *Amoniā Chatar*—Chatar, Taras, Kalakanati Sebaks—for carrying umbrellas at festivals, etc.
29. *Gītgovinda Sevaka*—who recites the Gītgovinda before the Lord at Chandan Lāgi.
30. *Chakra Dihuri* and *Chāmu Dihuri* who carry masals at festivals, etc.
31. The *Sinhāris* or Paśupālaks who dress the Lords in clothing and adorn them with flowers at all times and perform their Abakāsh Pujā.

32. *Suār Baḍus* (Bhog Saita Suār Baḍu, Beherā Suār Baḍu) who wash the Pokhariā several times, supply Khaṭa, Chauki, etc.

33. *Patri Baḍu*—Who supply Pūjā Upākaraṇs throughout the day.

34. *Garābaḍu* who serve the Gods by supplying water at times of Pūjās and other Nītis.

35. *Sudha Suāra* and *Aṇasara Sudha Suār* who make preparations for Pūjā (Pujathan at Ballav Bhog, etc.)

36. *Muduli* who keeps charge of Pūjā utensils and other daily Pūjā Upakaraṇs and supplies to Mekāps.

37. *Hadap Nāyāk*, *Bidia Jogāṇiā* and *Tambul Sebak* who serve to prepare and carry betel to the Lords.

38. *Ghatuāris* to prepare and serve Anjana, Chandan and Mahādīpa for daily and Parbajātrā Nītis.

39. *Tulasiā* who supplies Tulsi leaves daily.

40. *Dayaṇāmālis* who supply daily scented flowers.

41. *Mahābhoi* who supplies curd and other milk products.

42. *Pāni-āpata* who supplies water required in the Temple throughout the day.

43. *Balitā Sebak* who supplies Ārati Baḷitā.

44. *Kumbhār Bishois* who supplies Hānḍi and Kuḍuā and other pottery required daily.

45. *Douḍiā* who supplies rope to draw water from Shri Bimalā well.

46. *Mālacula Sebak* who supplies Cul, etc., for some festivals.

47. *Muliā Suansiā* who supplies Khaṭa Pidhā, etc.

48. *Jogāṇiās* for Koth Bhoga, Parbajātrā, Ballav and Bāhār Deuli to carry articles and Ballav and supply them at required places.

49. *Bimān Baḍus* who carry all Bije Bimāns, etc.

50. *Cāpa Beherā* and *Dolā-is* who work to prepare Cāpas.

51. *Rath Bhois* who work and supply labourers for construction of Cars.

52. *Kalābethiās* who drag the cars.

53. *Karatiās* or Sawers who work for Car construction.

54. *Tāmra Bishoi* who works as copper-smith in Car festivals.

55. *Citrakāras* and Rūpakāras who colour and prepare Pratimās for decoration of cars, etc.

56. *Ojhā Mahāraṇā* who works as black-smith.

57. *Ratha Dāhuka* who sings on Cars.

58. *Bāṇuā* who supplies fire-works when required.

59. *Cakā Aṇasara Sebaka* who keeps their charge from Tailors.

60. *Mandṇi* who ties Chanduā when required.

61. *Kotha Suansiā* who works as labourers to prepare huts, Chāmudiās, etc., at festivals.

62. *Sunā Goswāmī* who draws water from Sunā Kuān on Snān Pūrṇimā.

63. *Darjis* who stitch clothes, Chaka Apsar, etc.

64. *Pātras* who prepare silk ropes, etc.

65. *Badhai* or carpenters who work for Cars and Chāpas.

66. *Pāṇikunda Sebaka, Lugādhuā* and *Mahāsethi* who work to wash Deities' clothes.

67. *Baṇiā* who prepares and repairs ornaments.

68-70. *Baḍu*, *Tātua* and *Patar Bandha* who work in sending Tāṭa to Rājā Superintendent.

71. *Mukha Pakhāla* who prepares Tooth-sticks for the Deities.

72. *Khatuli Sebaka* who puts Khatuli for Abakāś Pūjā.

73. *Darpaṇiā* who supplies Darpaṇ and also cleans Deities' utensils.

74. *Baidya* or Doctor who gives medicine at Aṇabasar to the Lord.

75. *Jyotiṣ* or Astrologer who daily reads Tithis, etc., before the Lord at Abakāś Pūjā time.

76. *Cunarās* who serve for Garuḍa.

77. *Lenkā* who works to call Sebakas.

78. *Pradhāni* who works to call Paṇḍās and has other duties, and distributes Kheis at Mukti Mandapa.

79. *Pāiks* with their heads, Dolei and Dalabeherās, who are to stay throughout day and night and work according to orders of Temple authorities.

80. *Temple Police* who guard the Temple.

81. The *Mahāsuāras* who take first "Chheka" to the Panti.

82. *Suārs* of various categories known by different names according to nature of duties who cook and prepare Bhog like Baḍu Suār, Pitha Suār, Cuna Suār, Thāḷi Suār, Amāḷu Suār, Bindua, Paguā, Amālu Toḷi. Toḷa Badu and Toḷa Bati, i.e., who show light.

83. *Roṣa Amina* and *Rosh Paika* who watch and supervise the kitchen.

84. *Hānḍi Jogāṇiā* who supplies pots for Bhogas.

85. *Bāhār Deuli* Suārs who cook in Shri Laxmi's Rosha.

86. *Roṣa Kotha Bhog Pāṇiā* who supplies waters to Kitchen, etc.

87. *Paniki Pāta* who prepares dresses and vegetables.

88. *Raṣa Nikāp* who prepares Gandhana article like Ginger, etc., and distributes ghee to some Sebakas.

89. *Cāula Bachā* who cleans the rice to be cooked.

90- *Cuhāmundā Samartha*, *Birimundā Samartha* and *Biribuhā Samartha*—are those who
92. supply rice, flour and ground Paste, black gram and those who carry.

93. *Pātri Baḍus* who carry Checkos.

94. *Bidiās* who make Muthmal or Checkos ready.

95- *Dho-Pakhāliā*, *Gobar-Pāṇiā*, *Angāruā* and *Rabādiā*—who wash and clean the
98. kitchen and Chulis and who supplies water for the purpose.

99. *Sabuta Nijog* who have Sebā on Amābasyā days at Swargadwāra.

100. *Mudrā* who puts Mudrā at time of putting seals.

101. *Bentindhārā* Pāik has Sebā on festive Nītis.

N.B. The above-cited nomenclature is the reproduction of the report of the Special Officer, under Śrī Jagannātha Temple Act (1957) Orissa. Many terms referred herein need a detailed analysis. But the precise list is given for want of space. However, the entire net-work of employees engaged in the temple is a unique feature in the world.

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF MAṬHAS AT PURĪ*

(*List procured from the Temple Office as well as from the various maṭhas and the categories given here are according to traditions*)

Age	*Name of the Maṭha*	*Type. Sect (Sampradāya)*
6th century	Vṛgu Āśram	Angilā
7th century	Angirā ,,	-do-
9th century	Govardhana	Advaita
-do-	Śankarānanda	-do-
10th century	Mahiprakāsha	Brahmachārī
12th century	Rāmānuja Kota	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Trimāḷī	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Santha	-do-
-do-	Emāra Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Sāna Santha	Gāduā Mādhava
-do-	Gopāḷa Tīrtha	Adwaita
-do-	Śiva Tīrtha	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Jhāḍu	Angilā
13th century	Daśāvatāra Maṭha	-do-
14th century	Languḷi Maṭha	Daśanamī
-do-	Baḍa Chatā Maṭha	Angilā. Rāmānanda
15th century	Chāuṇi Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Rāghavadāsa Maṭha	-do-
16th century	Kavīra Caurā	Santhamata
-do-	Bāuli Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Sidha Bakuḷa Maṭha	Acintya Vedā Veda
-do-	Rādhā Kānta	-do-
-do-	Gangāmātā	-do-
-do-	Hariḍākhandi Maṭha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Śrīrām Das Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Narasiṁhācārī ,,	-do-
-do-	Sāna Jhāḍu	Angilā. Viśiṣṭādwita

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* Maṭhas or religious monasteries at Purī.

Age	*Name of the Maṭha*	*Type. Sect (Sampradāya)*
16th century	Kunja Maṭha	Goudīya
-do-	Śiśu Maṭha	Utkalīya Vaiṣṇava
-do-	Cakra Tīrtha Maṭha	Angilā Viśiṣṭādwita
-do-	Ghumusar Maṭha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Dagarā Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Labaṇikhiā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Purāṇa Savā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Gandharva Maṭha	Utkalīya Vaiṣṇava
-do-	Acyutā Maṭha	Goudīya
-do-	Goswāmī Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Śāta Laharī Maṭha	Ati Badi
-do-	Śāta Āsana Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Haridās Maṭha	Acintyavedā Veda
-do-	Totā Gopinātha	-do-
-do-	Dukhiśyām Bābā Maṭha	Abadhūta
-do-	Baḍa Oriyā Maṭha	Ati Badi Gādwā Mādhava
-do-	Sāna Oriyā Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Kali Tiḷaka	Angilā
-do-	Baḍa Ākhaḍā	Pañca Rāmānanda
-do-	Chhāuni Chhātra	Khairatā
-do-	Kadaḷi Patukā Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Jagannātha Ballava Maṭha	Viṣṇuswāmī
-do-	Malei Maṭha	Angilā
-do-	Rangānaikā Cārī	Viśiṣṭādwita
17th century	Swargadwāra Chatā	Rāmānandī
-do-	Benkatācārī Maṭha	Viśiṣṭādwita
-do-	Kauśalyā Das	-do-
-do-	Panjabi	-do-
-do-	Balarām Kota	Rāmānandī
-do-	Sundar Das	-do-
-do-	Khilor Maṭha	Community (Sampradāya)
-do-	Nuā Maṭha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Neuḷadās Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Rādhāballavī	Nunarka
-do-	Mangu	Santhamātā
-do-	Nārāyaṇa Chatā	Goudīya
-do-	Sunāgoswāmī Maṭha	-do-
-do-	Nāgā	Rāmānandī
-do-	Poda Maṭha	Angilā

Age	*Name of the Maṭha*	*Type. Sect (Sampradāya)*
17th century	Cuttackī Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Sānachatā Matha	Rāmānandā
-do-	Rāmji Matha	Nimbārka
-do-	Jejerām Matha	Rāmānandī
-do-	Mahāpravujike Baithaka	Ballavakuḷa
-do-	Māhābīria Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
18th century	Kāpedia	Community. Rāmānandī
-do-	Khāki Ākhadā	Khāki Pañcāyata
-do-	Sāḷ Bega	Godwa Modwa
-do-	Hāti Ākhadā	Pañca Rāmānandī
-do-	Bāgha Ākhadā	-do-
-do-	Nirbaṇi Ākhadā	-do-
-do-	Nirmohi Ākhadā	-do-
-do-	Nima Ākhadā	-do-
-do-	Patiā Rāṇi Matha	Godwa Madwa
-do-	Pipaḷāyana	Rāmānandī
-do-	Maṇi Rāma Matha	-do-
-do-	Rimā Chatra	Khairāta
-do-	Vaṇiā Chatra	-do-
-do-	Rāṇi Matha	-do-
-do-	Khajuriā Matha	Godwa Madhua
-do-	Hāti Gurudeb Matha	Abadhūta
-do-	Uttara Pārśva Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Surangi Matha	Goudīya
-do-	Falāhāri Matha	Abadhūta
-do-	Jaḍā Matha	Community
-do-	Rūni Matha	Goudīya
-do-	Luṇiā Chowdhury	-do-
-do-	Jagat Mohan	-do-
-do-	Jayapur	-do-
-do-	Cikiti	-do-
-do-	Baḍa Taraḷā	-do-
-do-	Sāna Taraḷā	-do-
-do-	Jirswāmī	Viśiṣṭādvaita
19th century	Patara	Community
-do-	Jānjapitā Matha	Acintyavedā Veda
-da-	Damparā Matha	Gouda Mādhva
-do-	Haḷadia Matha	-do-

Age	*Name of the Maṭha*	*Type. Sect (Sampradāya*
19th century	Bhārati Matha	Advaita Matha
-do-	Niranjanachatā Matha	Aghorapanthī
-do-	Jhāḍu Matha	Community
-do-	Sidha Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Kaṇāsa	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Krupā Samudra	-do-
-do-	Taraṇi Chatra Matha	Angilā
-do-	Biśākhā Matha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Baḍa Matha	-do-
-do-	Jayapore Matha	Khairāta
-do-	Jatiā Bābāji Matha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Jenā Matha	-do-
20th century	Rām Kṛṣṇa	Modern
-do-	Jogadā	-do-
-do-	Satyaprakāśa	-do-
-do-	Girenari	-do-
-do-	Uṁkārnātha Sītārām Dās	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Puruṣottama Matha	Goudīya
-do-	Naya Matha	Viśiṣṭādvaita
-do-	Bābā Brahmacārī	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Arjunadās Matha	-do-
-do-	Baḷagandī	Rāmānandī
-do-	Cāuḷia Matha	Gouda Madhva
-do-	Faḷāhārī	-do-
-do-	Baḷi Bābāji	-do-
-do-	Paramānanda Dās	Goudīya
-do-	Nidhi Dās	-do-
-do-	Nandi Matha	-do-
-do-	Abadhūta Matha	Modern

It is very fascinating to note that among all the places of pilgrimage throughout India, Purī is conspicuous for its having innumerable Mathas. All of them, however, are not of same type : they may, however, be classified into four groups in the following manner :

1. Āśrama type ; 2. Raj-angilā type ; 3. Individual and sectarian type and 4. Caste-group type.

Āśrama type : Maṭhas of this category are generally named after the great

Ṛṣis of ancient India. There are four Maṭhas of this type situated in the four corners of the town. They are like Bhṛgu Āśram, Āngirā Āśram etc.

Rajangilā type : Maṭhas of this type are established under royal patronage and they are many in number.

Individual and Sectarian type : Maṭhas falling in this category are established either by eminent individuals or by well-known sects of India. They are (i) Advaita Maṭha or Śankar Maṭha ; (ii) Viśiṣṭādvita Maṭha or Rāmānuja Maṭha ; (iii) Dvaita Maṭha or Mādhava Maṭha ; (iv) Dvaitādvaita Maṭha ; (v) Acintya Vedāveda Maṭha or Goudiya Maṭha ; and (vi) Atibaḍi Maṭha or Oddissī Maṭha. There are as many Maṭhas at Purī as there are philosophical sects in India. Even at Purī many Maṭhas of other religions have been existing from very remote past. Nānak Maṭha and Kabīr Maṭha are non-Hindu Maṭhas, existing side by side with many Hindu Maṭhas. Like Jagannātha Dharma (religion), the place of Jagannātha has also attracted different religionists of India to establish their Maṭhas in this sacred city. It is needless to say that almost all the Maṭhas at Puri have connections with the temple of Jagannātha.

Caste-Group Maṭha : This type of Maṭhas is established by different castes of people having religio-social function in the main temple.

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Man in India

Journals in Oriya

Diganta
Jhankara
Konark
Satyavādi
Nababharata
Utkala Sahitya

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.I.	Archæological Survey of India
A.S.R.	Asiatic Researches
C.I.I.	Carpus Inscriptions Indicarum
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
I.A.	Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
I.O.	Inscriptions of Orissa
I.Q.	Indian Quarterly
J.A.S.	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J.A.S B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.K.H.R.S.	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
J.M.H.S.	Journal of the Mahakosala Historical Society
O.H.R.I.	Orissa Historical Research Journal
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions

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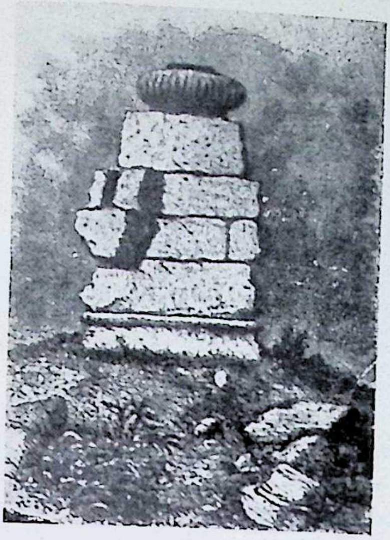
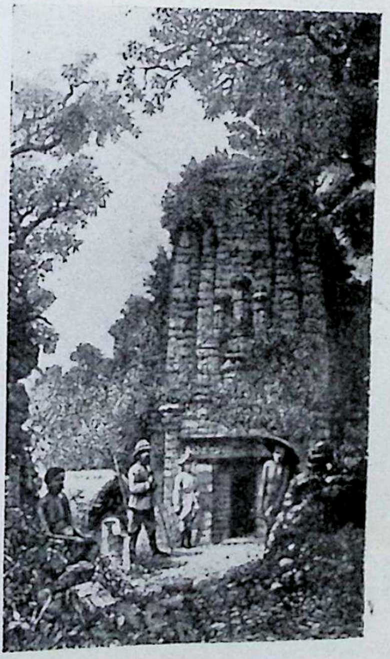
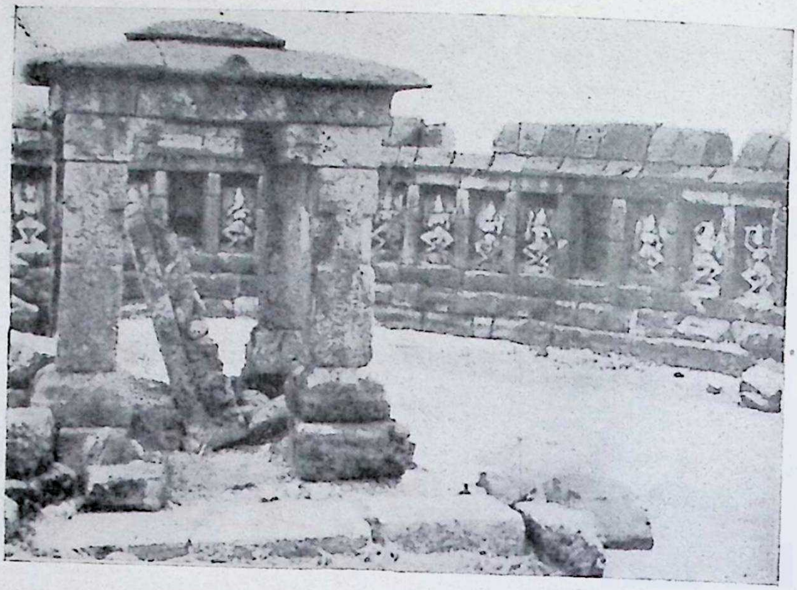
स्था:-२०३७
लाजिम्पाट



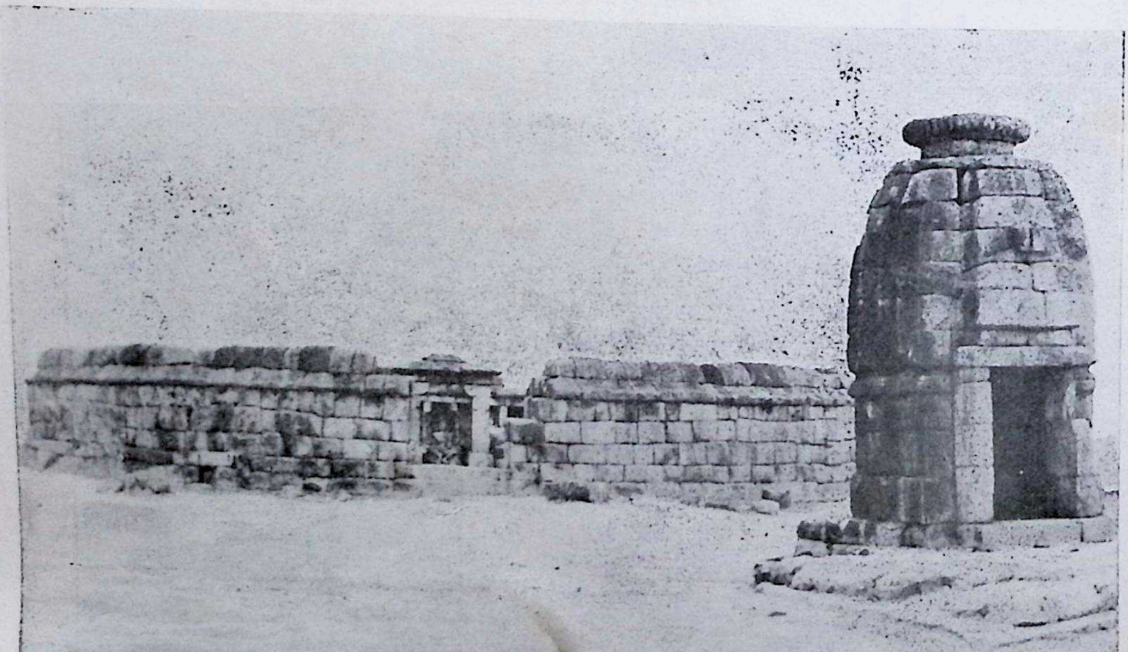
The temple of Mahendra Giri, Ganjam
an insignia of earliest architecture.
Plate No. 1

Kunti temple in Mahendra Giri.
Plate No. 2

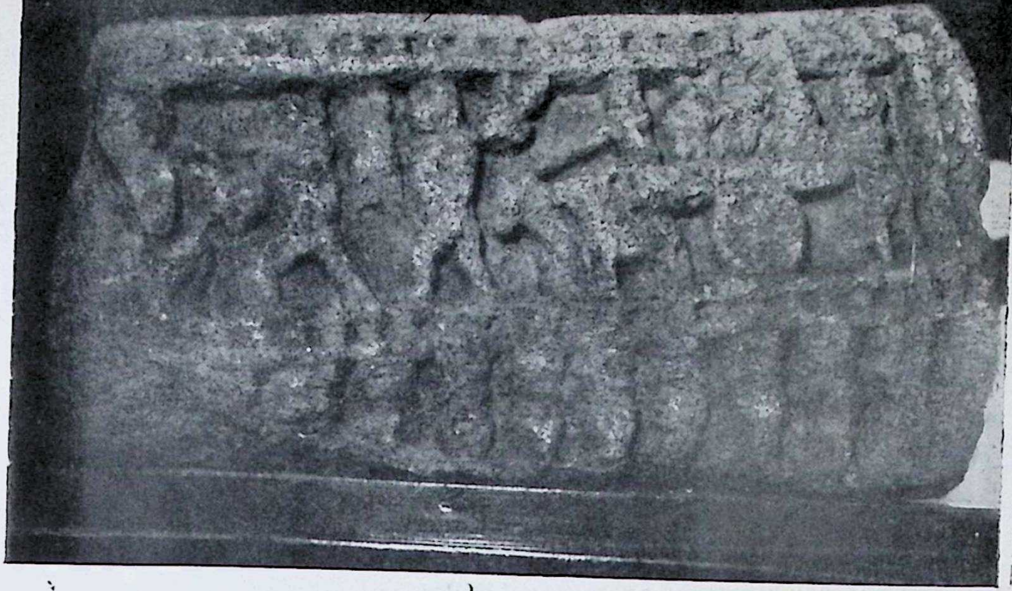




The sixtyfour Yogini temple at Ranipur, Jharial, Bolangir.
Plate No. 3

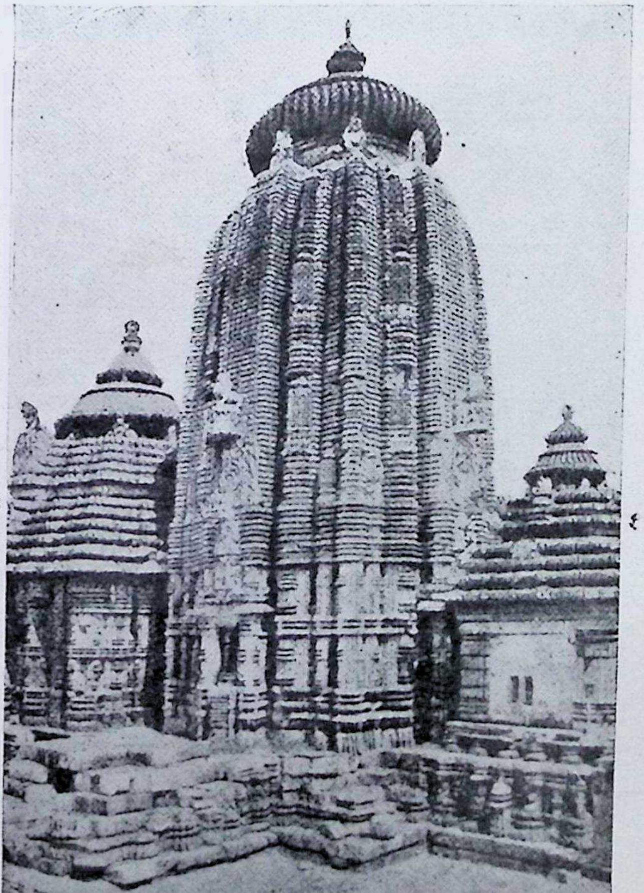


A view of the Yogini temple.
Plate No. 4



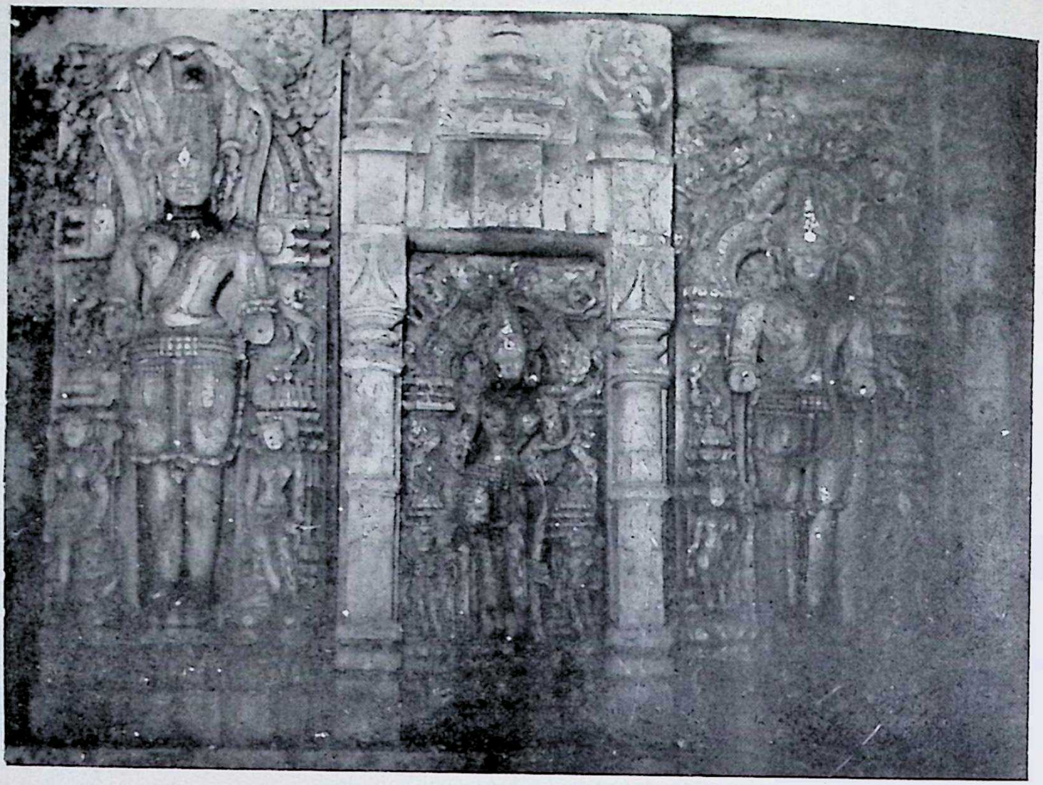
The three icons in a bullock cart, believed to be the three Deities of the Jagannatha temple, preserved in the State Museum, Orissa.

Plate No. 5

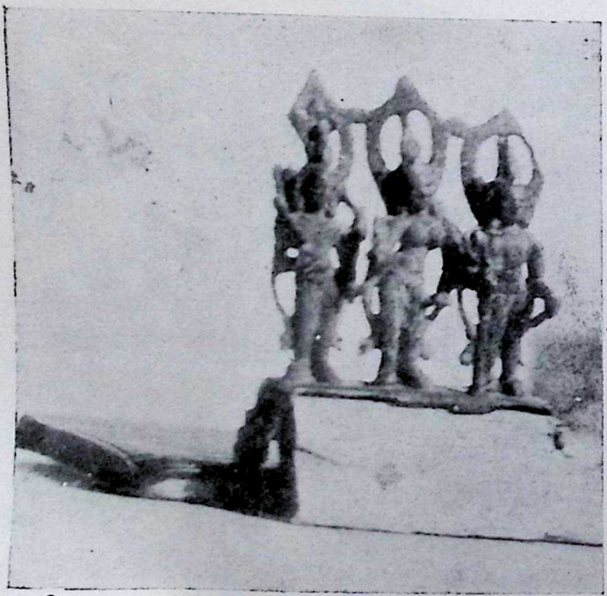


The famous Ananta Vasudev Temple of Bhubaneswar.

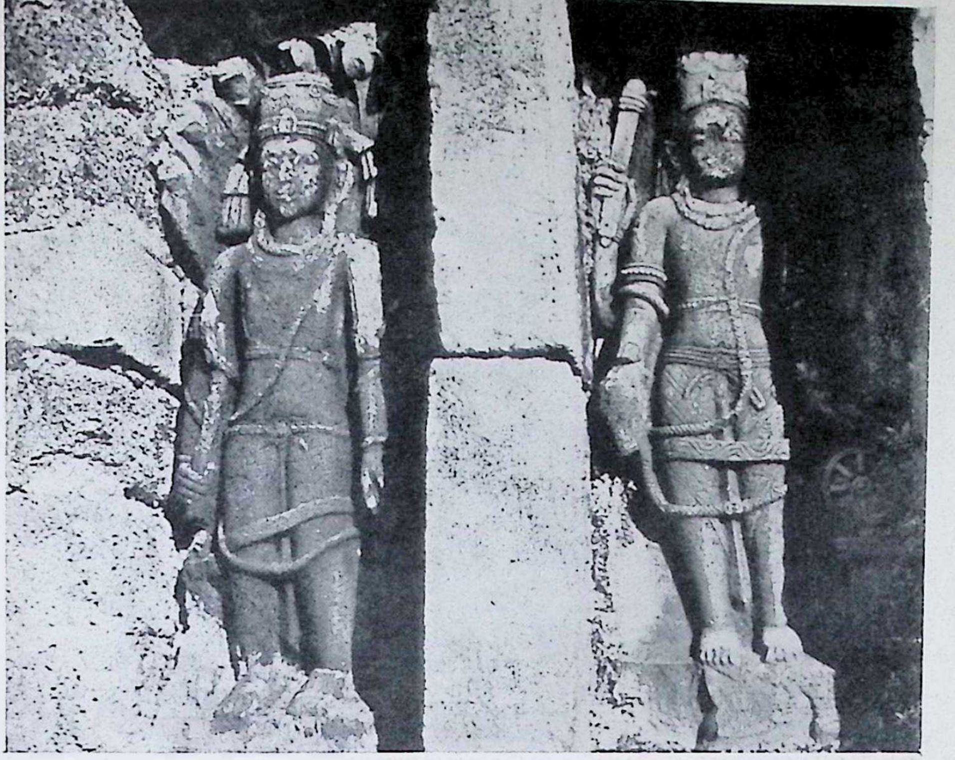
Plate No. 6



The three images of Ekanamsa, Ananta and Vasudeva
in the Lingaraj temple compound.
Plate No. 7

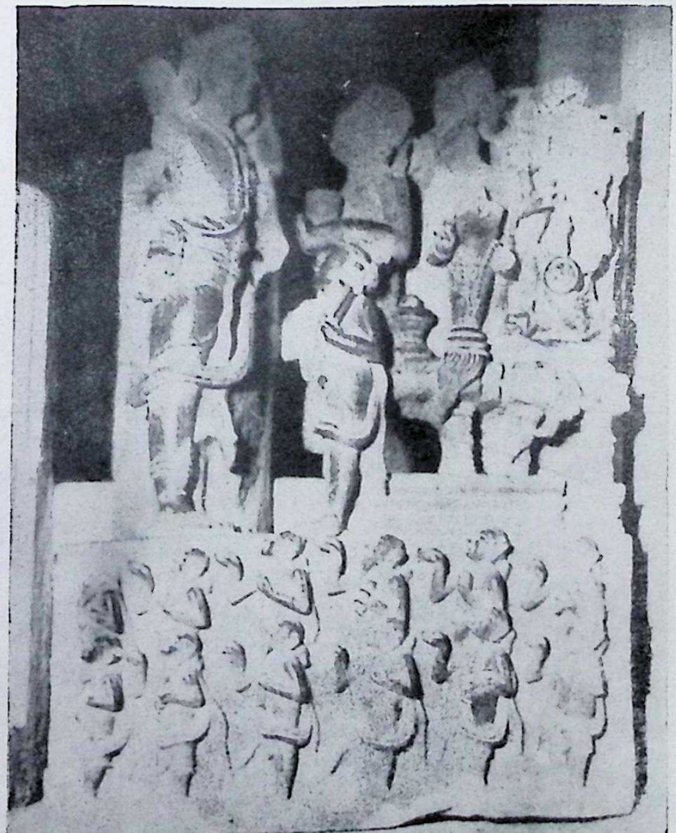


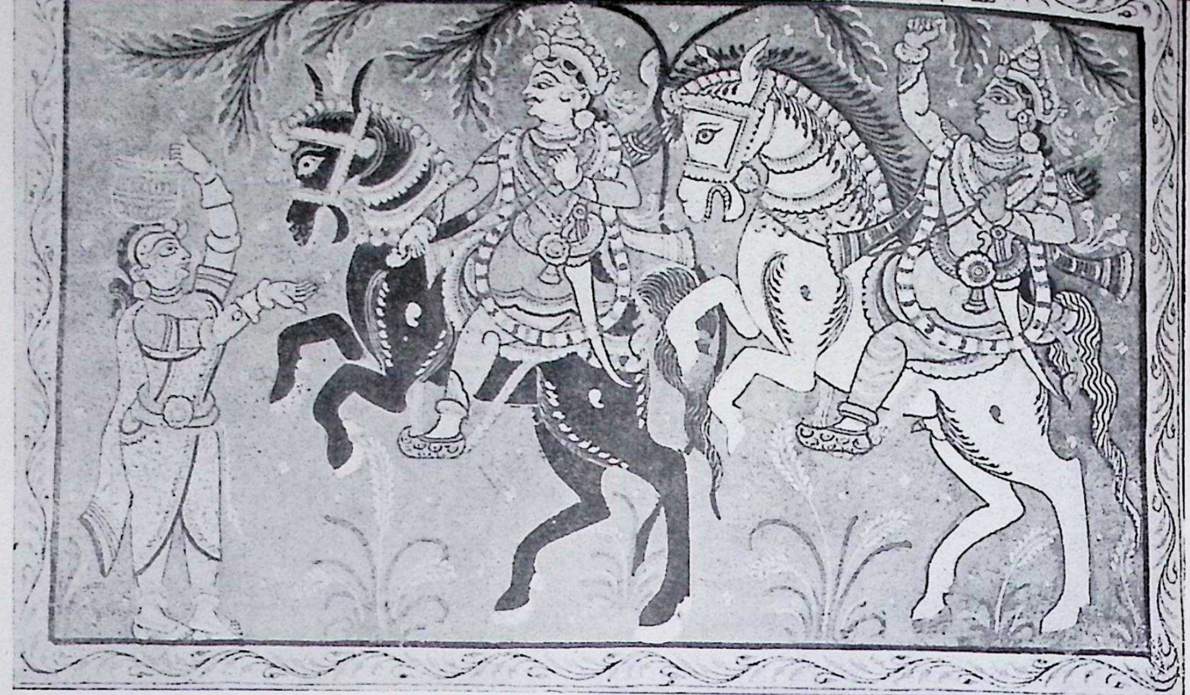
Images of Krishna, Balarama,
Ekanamsa in bronze.
Plate No. 8



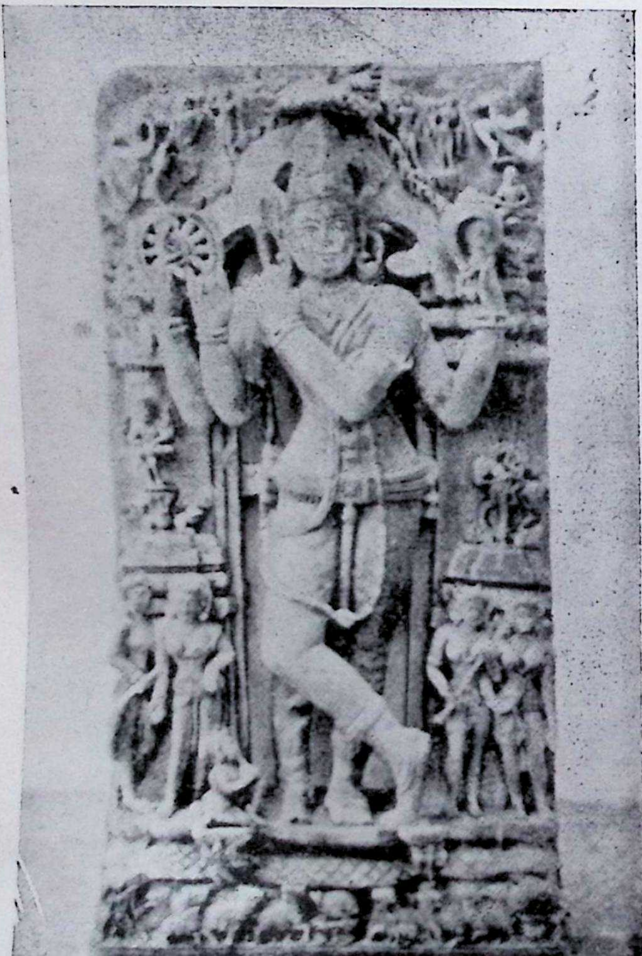
Images of Ananta and Vasudeva on the inner walls of Bindusagara Tank.
Plate No. 9

Vishnu, Durga and Siva in the Sun Temple at Konarak.
Plate No. 10



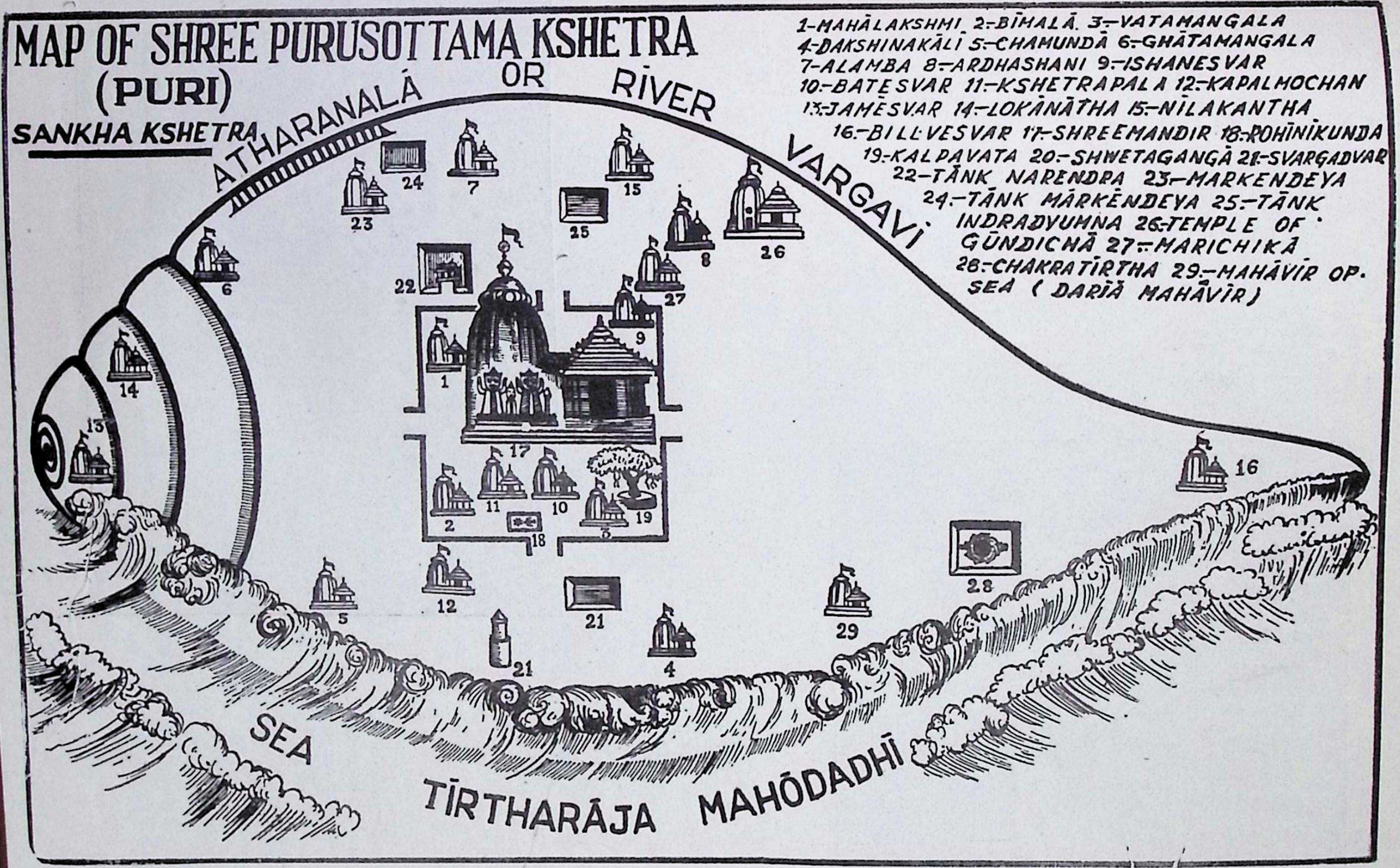


Jagannatha and Balarama on horse back proceeding towards Kanchi.
Plate No. 11

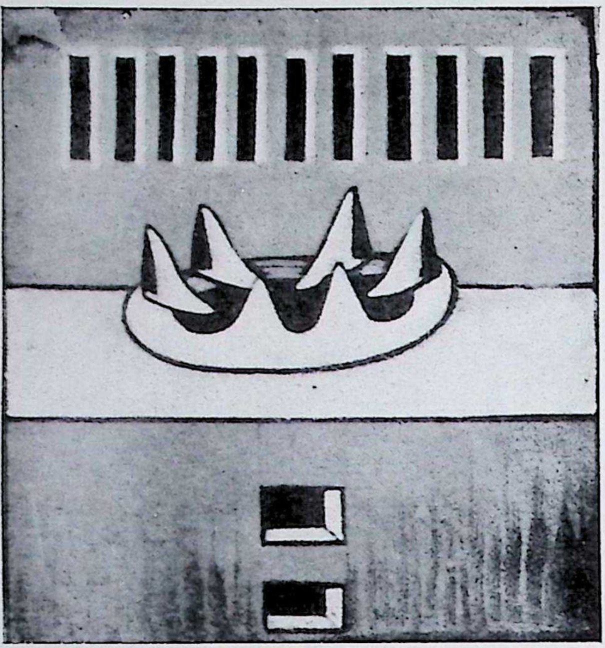


The image of Vishnu-Krishna
in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar
Plate No. 12

Plate No. 13 Familiar picture of Temple
omitted. Kindly see front cover.

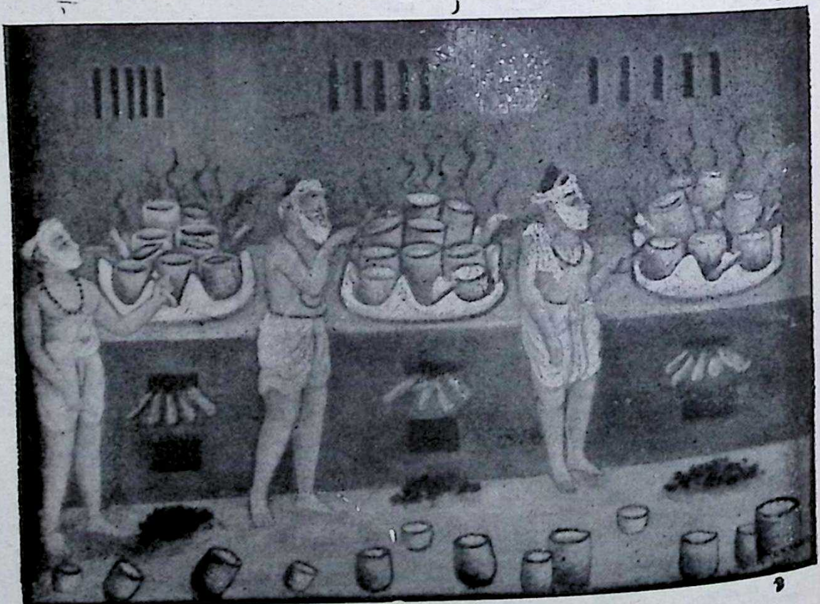

MAP OF SHREE PURUSOTTAMA KSHETRA
(PURI)
SANKHA KSHETRA
ATHARANALĀ
OR
RIVER
VARGAVI
1-MAHĀLAKSHMI 2-BĪMALĀ. 3-VATAMANGALA
4-DAKSHINAKĀLI 5-CHAMUNDĀ 6-GHĀTAMANGALA
7-ALAMBA 8-ARDHASHANI 9-ISHANESVAR
10-BATESVAR 11-KSHETRAPALA 12-KAPALMOCHAN
13-JAMESVAR 14-LOKĀNĀTHA 15-NĪLAKANTHA
16-BILLVESVAR 17-SHREEMANDIR 18-ROHĪNIKUNDA
19-KALPAVATA 20-SHWETAGANGĀ 21-SVARGADVAR
22-TĀNK NARENDRA 23-MARKENDEYA
24-TĀNK MĀRKĒNDEYA 25-TĀNK
INDRADYUMNA 26-TEMPLE OF
GŪNDICHĀ 27-MARICHIKĀ
28-CHAKRATĪRTHA 29-MAHĀVIR OP.
SEA (DARIĀ MAHĀVĪR)
24
7
15
23
25
26
8
6
22
27
9
1
14
13
17
2
11
10
19
3
18
16
28
12
21
5
4
29
21
SEA
TĪRTHARĀJA MAHŌDADHĪ

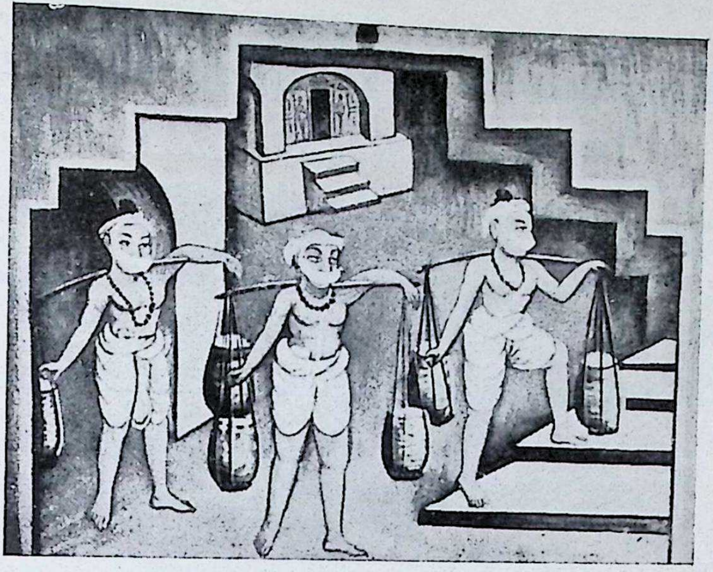
Sankha-Kshetra with the holy shrines. *Plate No. 14*



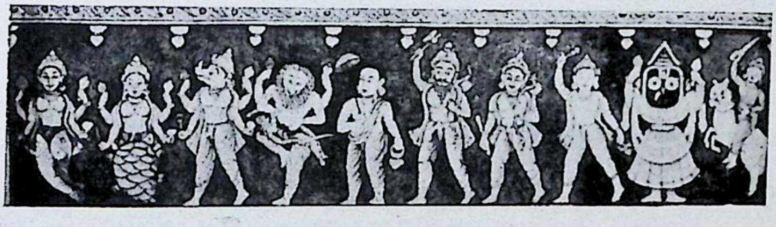
The kitchen of Lord Jagannatha.
Plate No. 15

The cooking scene of the Bhoga
inside the kitchen.
(An artistic representation)
Plate No. 16

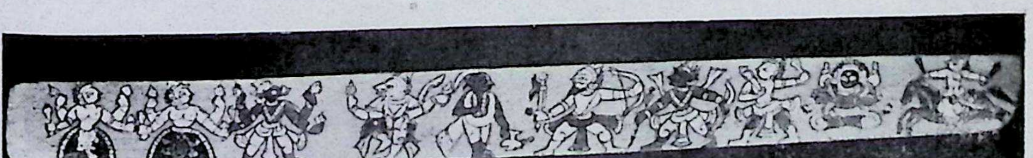




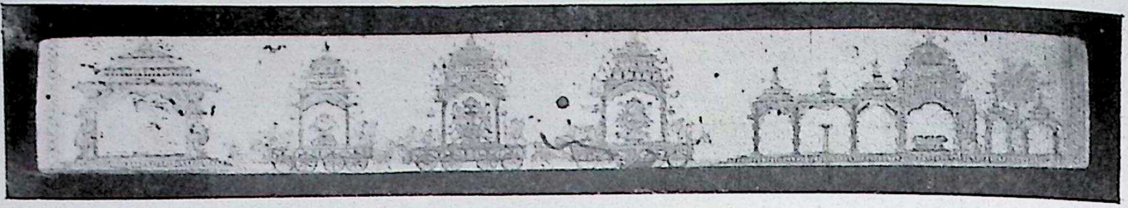
The Bhoga being carried for the offering to the Deities.
Plate No. 17



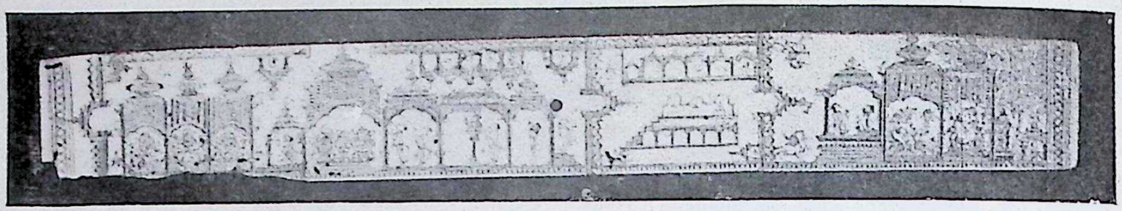
Dasa-Avatara (Ten incarnations) on the inner walls of Nāta-mandira.
(Here Buddha is identified as Lord Jagannāth)
Plate No. 18



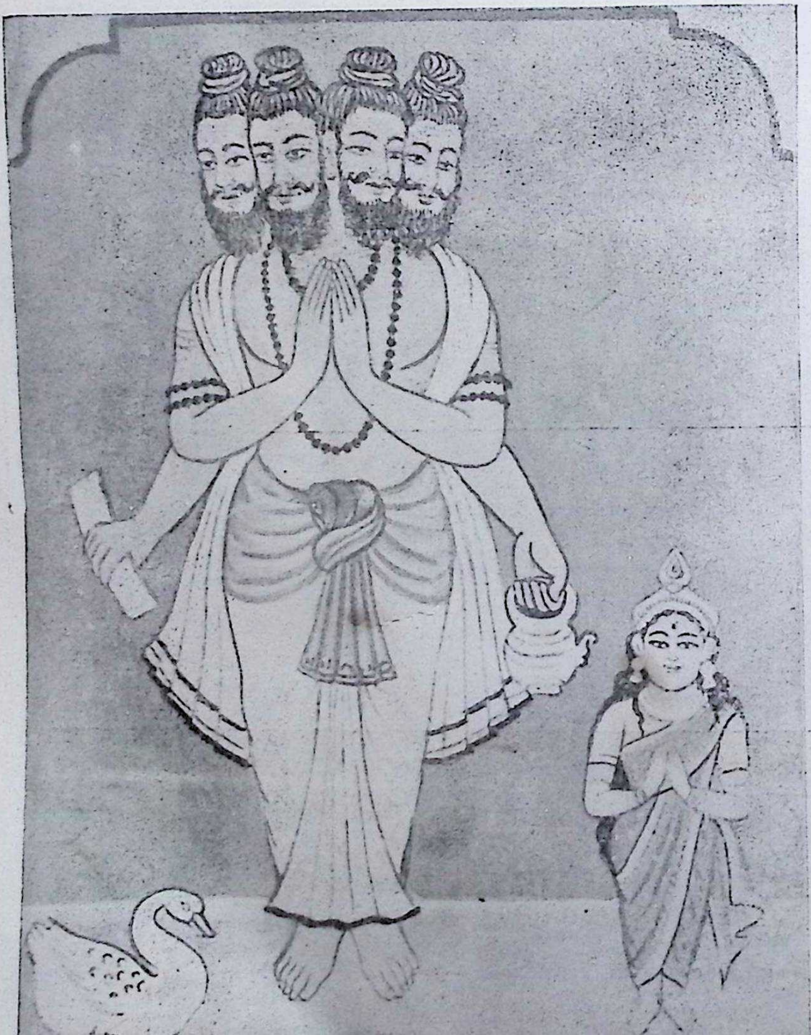
Paintings of ten-incarnations on a palm-leaf.
Plate No. 19



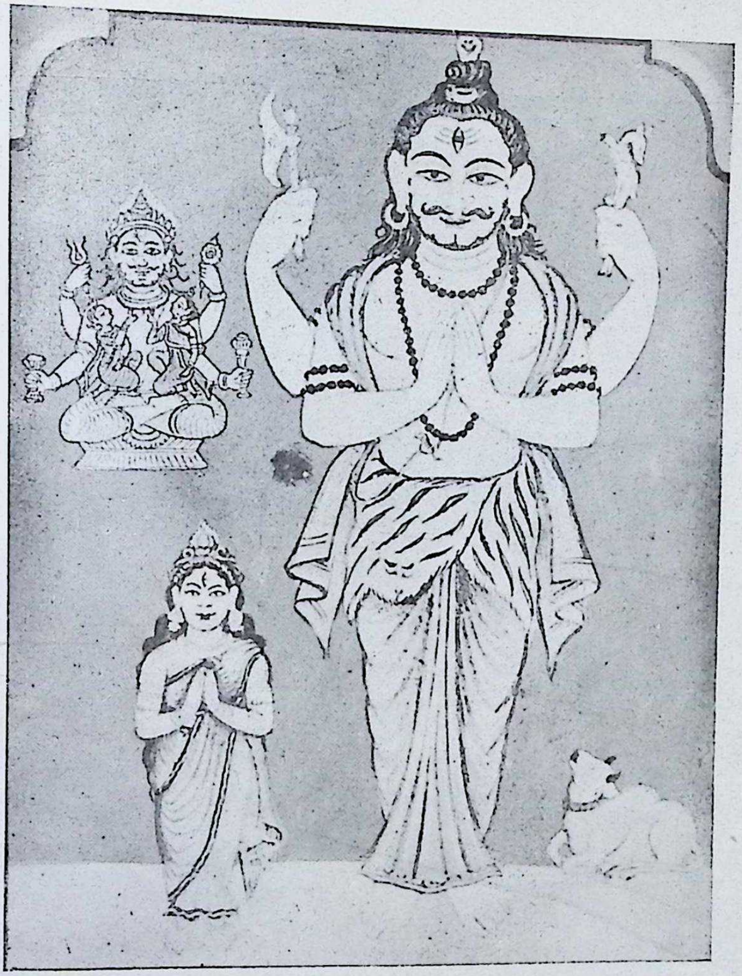
Paintings of Chariots & Gods from palm-leaf pothis.
Plate No. 19A



Paintings of Chariots & Gods from palm-leaf pothis.
Plate No. 19B

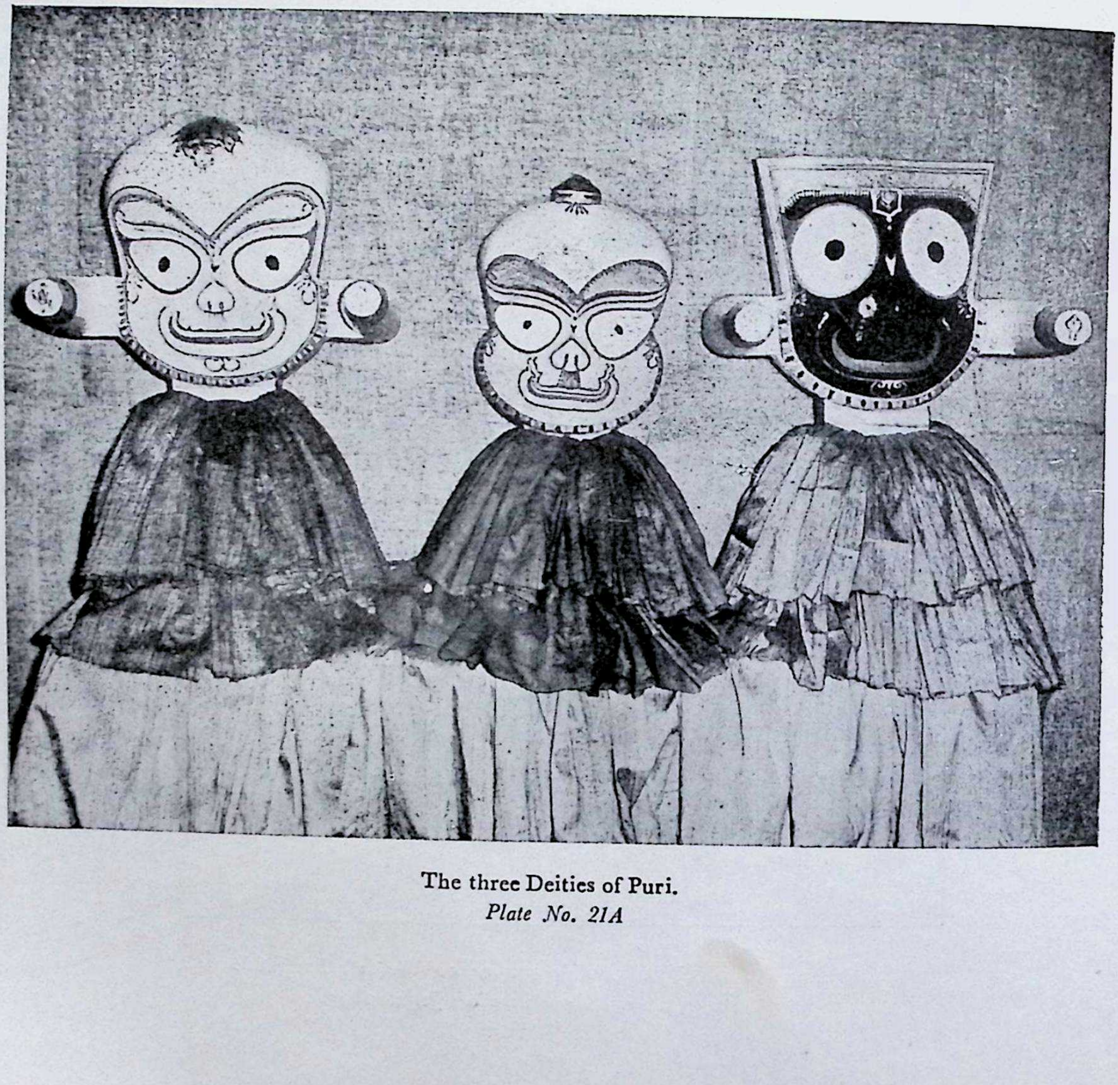


Brahmā with folded hands on the right hand side of the southern doorway of the Jagamohan and Sāvitrī on his left.
Plate No. 20



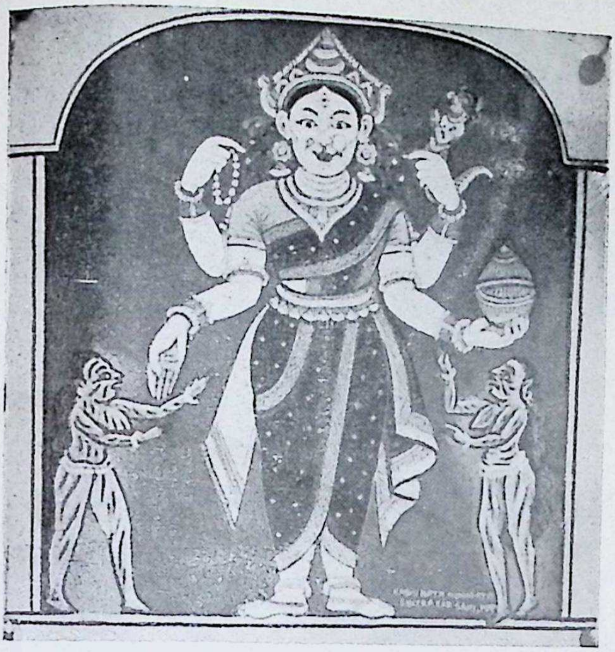
Śiva and Pārvatī in humble prayer on the left hand side of the southern door-way of Jagamohan.

Plate No. 21

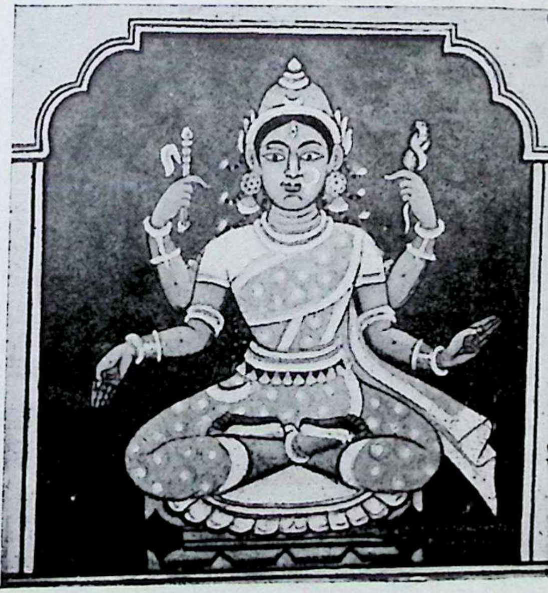


The three Deities of Puri.

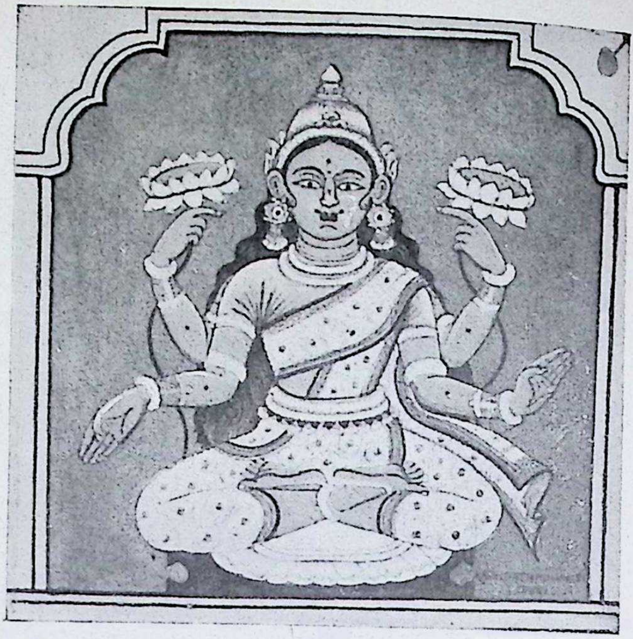
Plate No. 21A



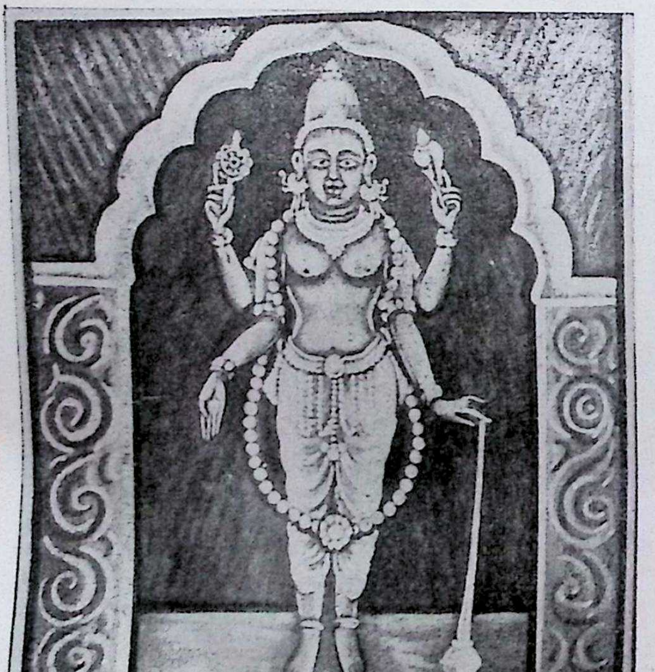
Goddess Bimalā inside the temple premises.
Plate No. 22



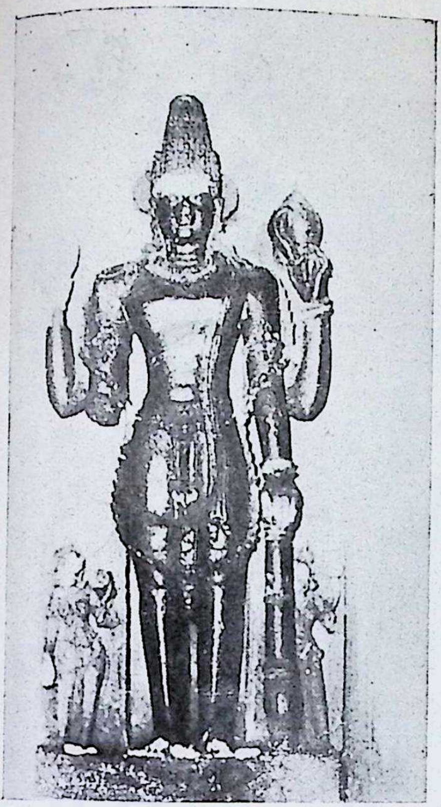
Goddess Bhubaneśwarī.
Plate No. 23



Goddess Lakṣmī.
Plate No. 24

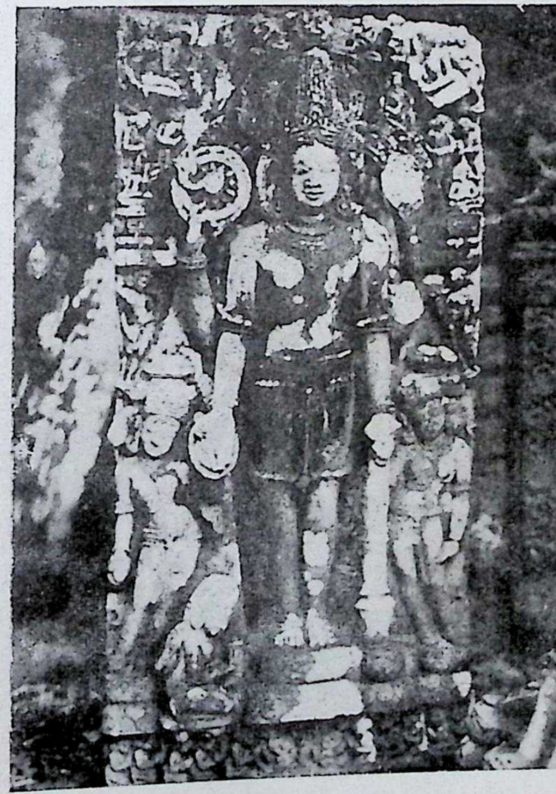


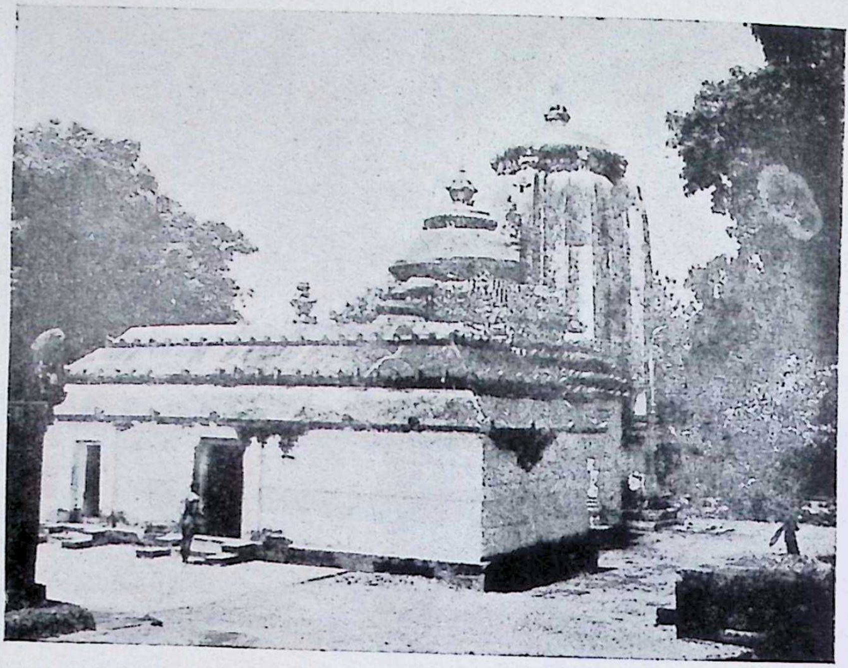
Nīla Mādhab image of Puri Temple.
Plate No. 25



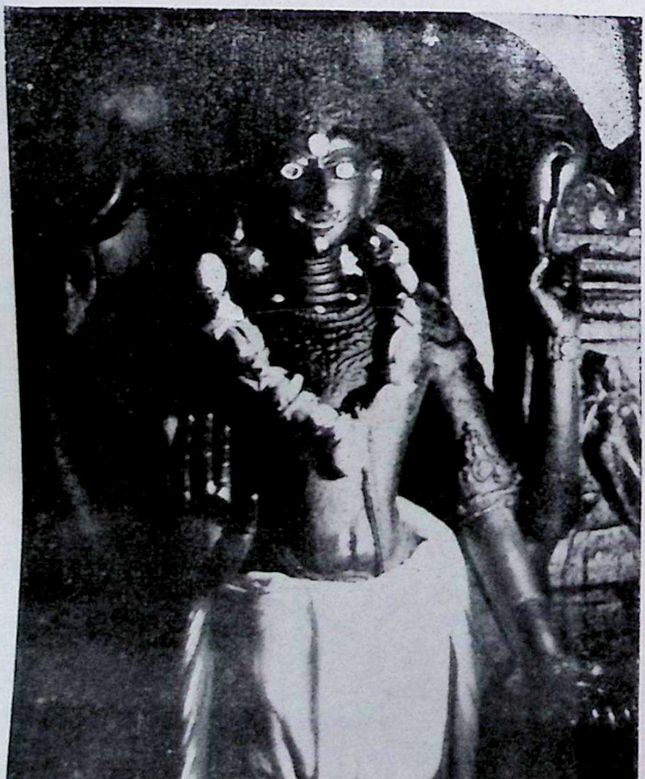
Nīla Mādhab image in Gandharadi, Bouda.
Plate No. 26

Lalita Mādhab image in Sovaneśwar temple in the District of Puri.
Plate No. 27

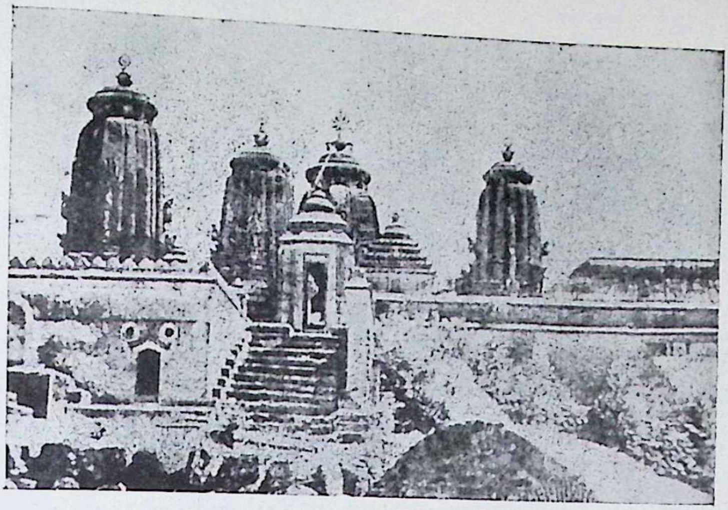




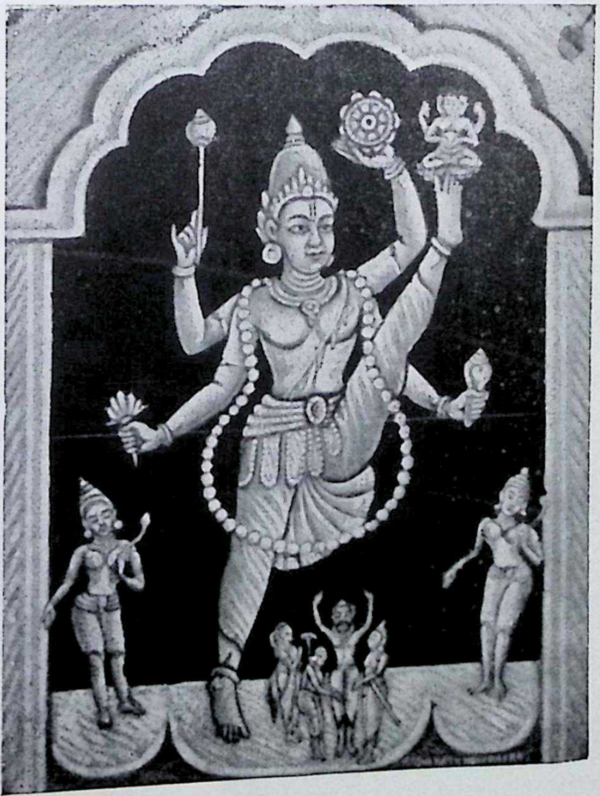
Alvarnāth temple at Brahmagiri, Puri.
Plate No. 28



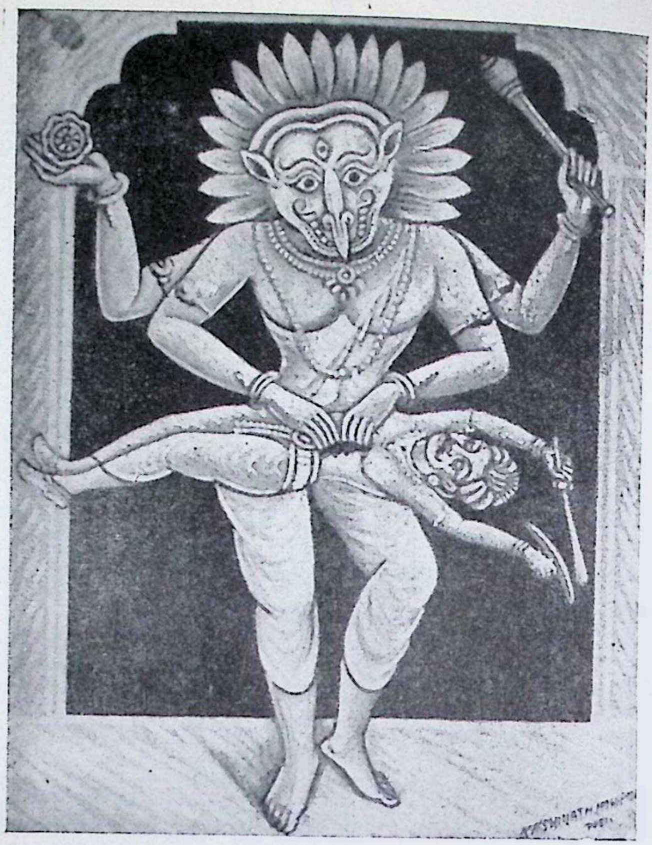
Janārdan Nārāyana inside the Alvarnāth temple, Brahmagiri.
Plate No. 29



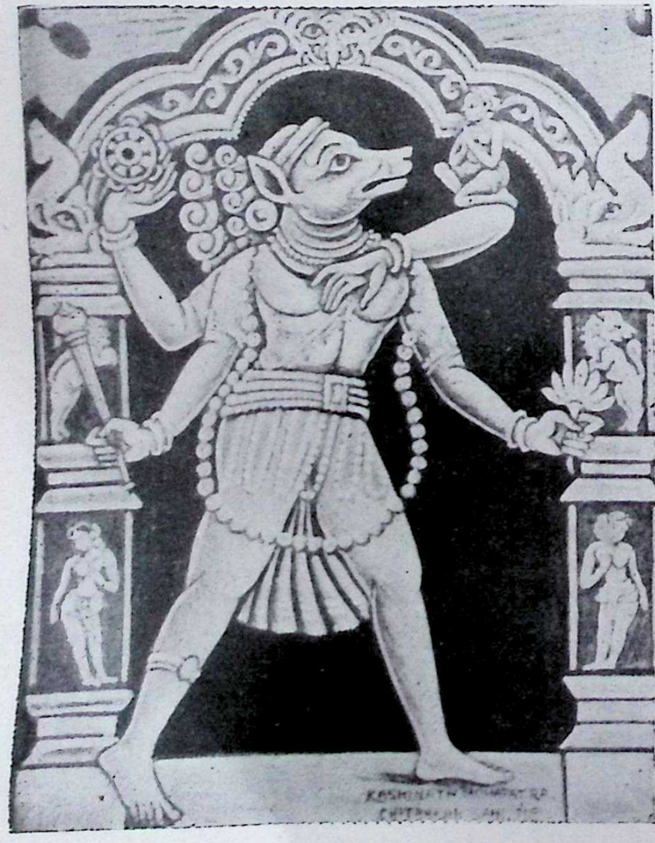
Nila Mādhab temple at Kantilo, Puri.
Plate No. 29A



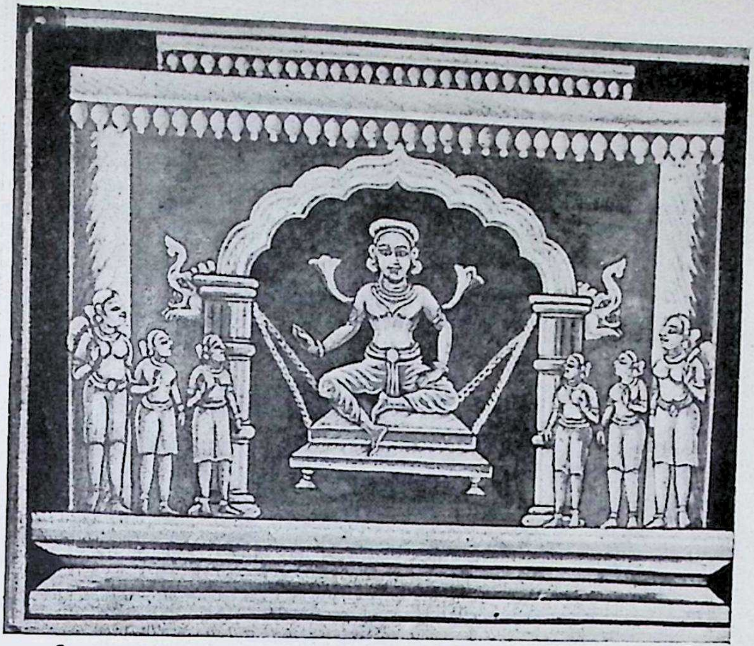
Vāmana-Tribikrama, Parśvadevatā
inside the Puri Temple.
Plate No. 30



Nṛsingha, Pārśva-devatā in Puri Temple.
Plate No. 31

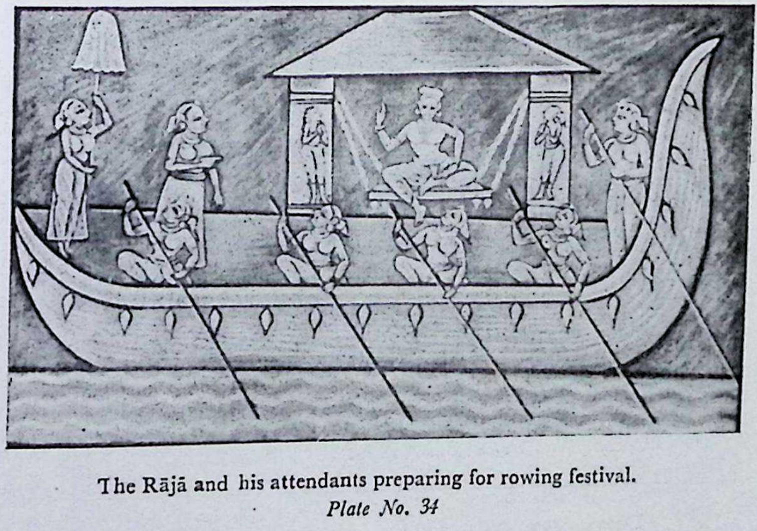


Varāha Pārśva-devatā in Puri Temple.
Plate No. 32



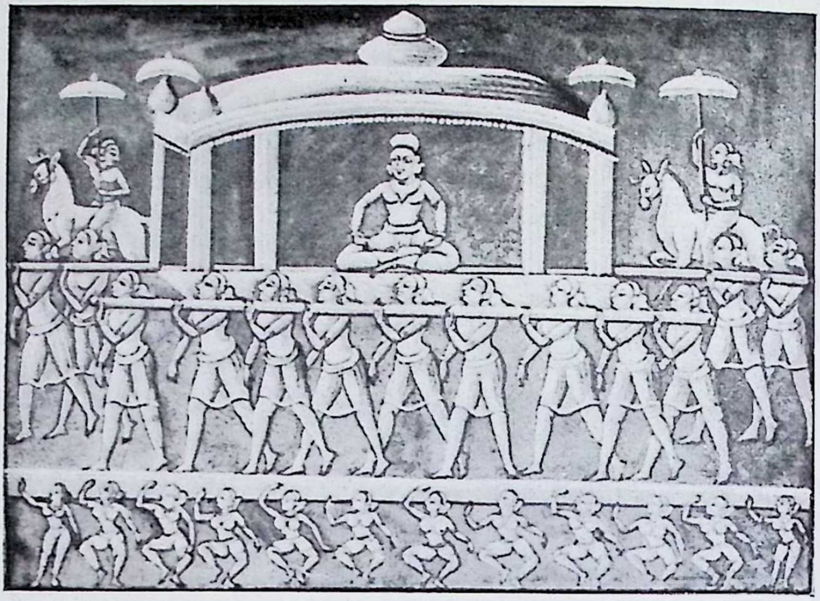
The Rājā of Puri on swing, carved on the wall of Bhogamandapa.

Plate No. 33

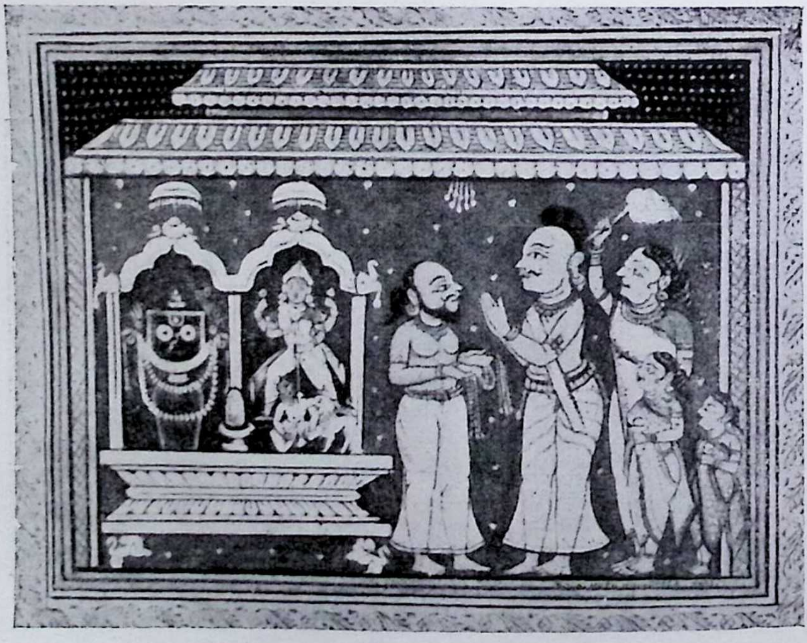


The Rājā and his attendants preparing for rowing festival.

Plate No. 34



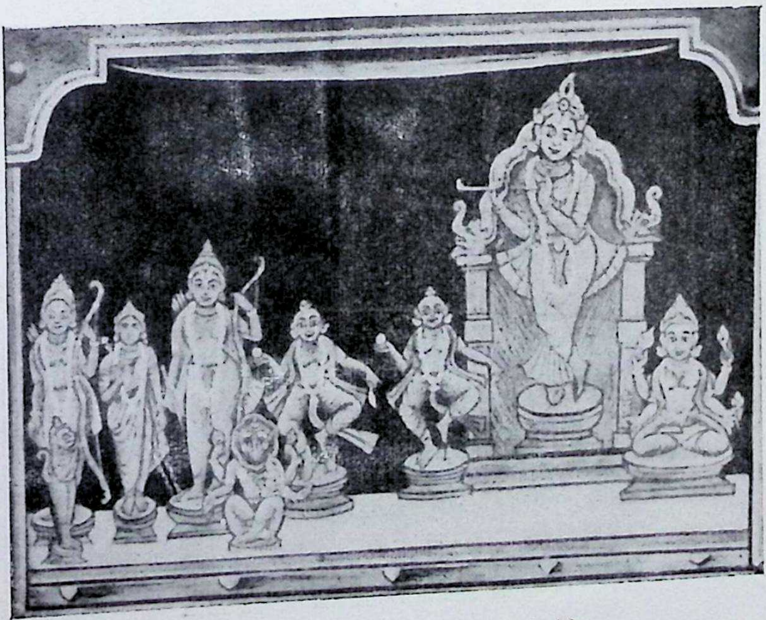
The Rājā inside the palanquin on the eve of Nandotsava.
Plate No. 35



Durgā, Jagannātha and Śiva Linga on Bhogamandapa.
Plate No. 36

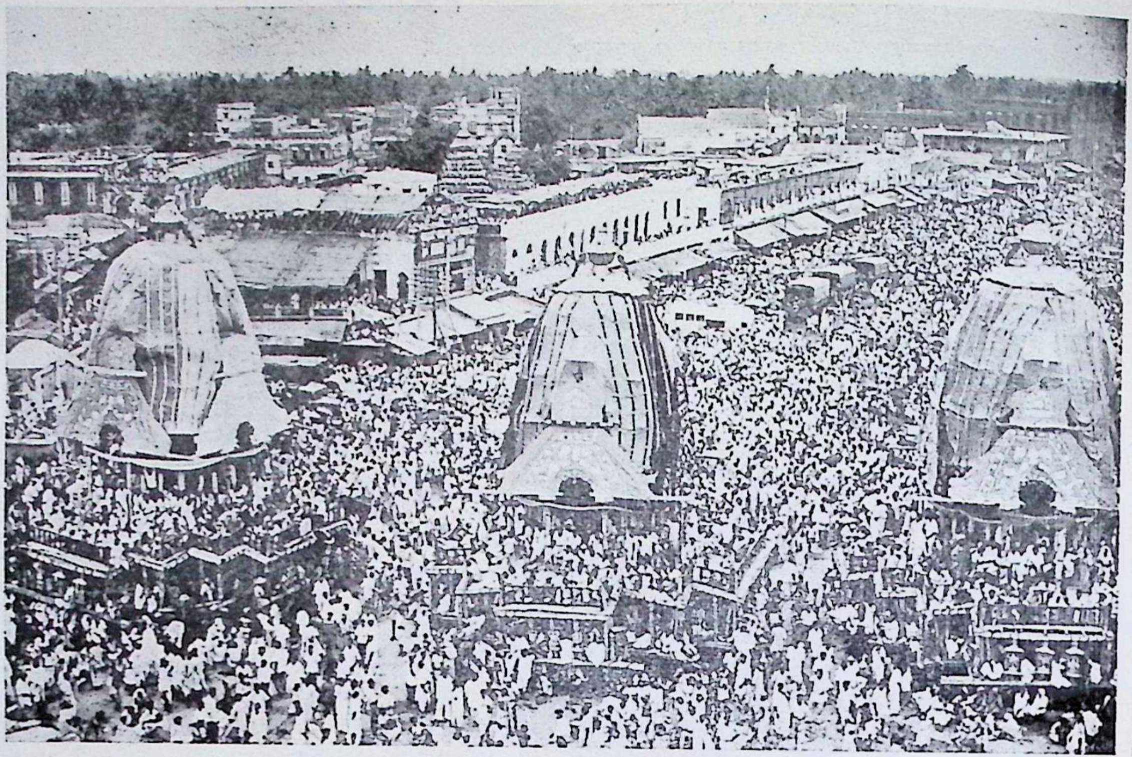
Śankarācārya in Gobardhan Math, Puri

Plate No. 37

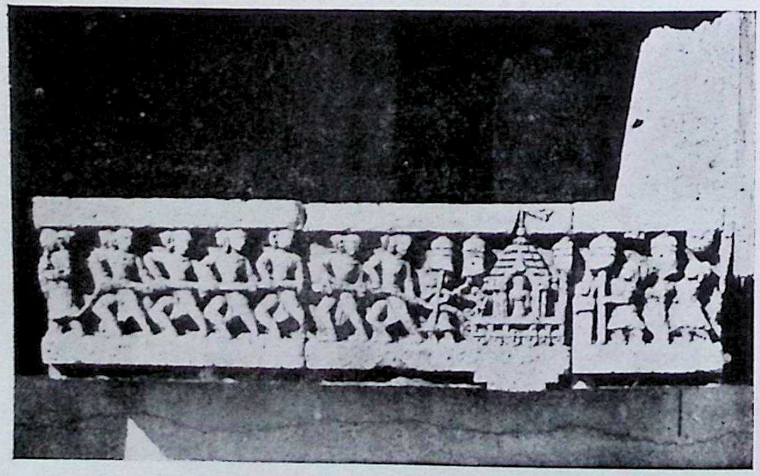


Arcā images who represent the main Deities in out-door festivals.

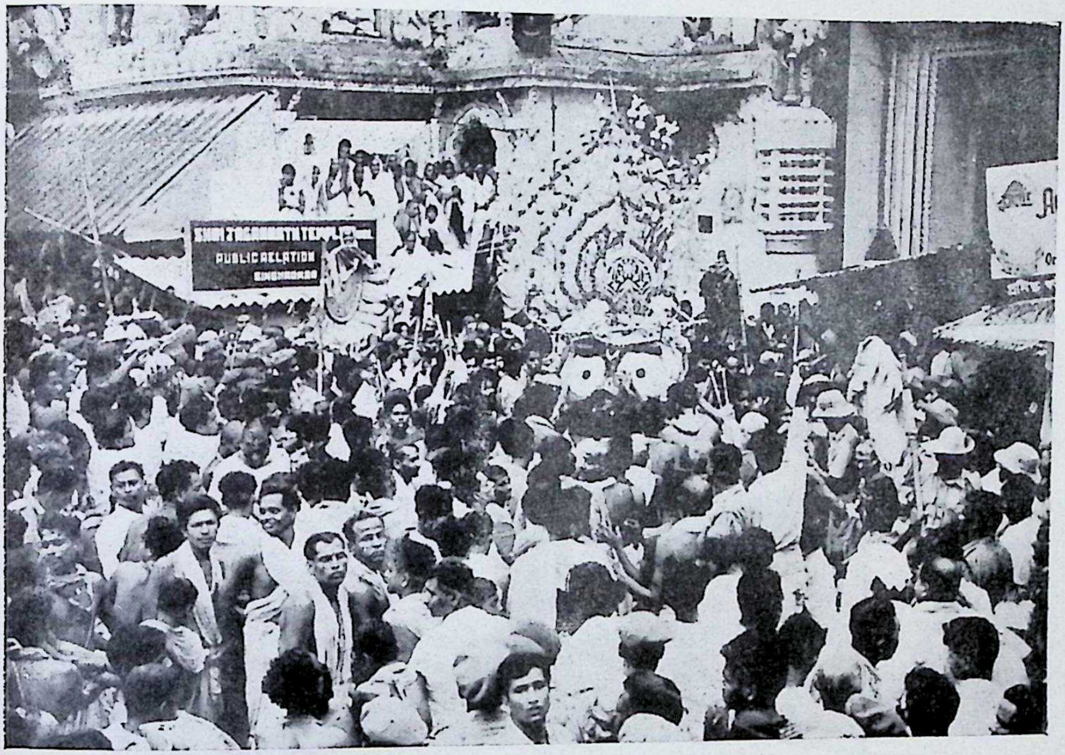
Plate No. 38



Three chariots standing in a row.
Plate No. 39

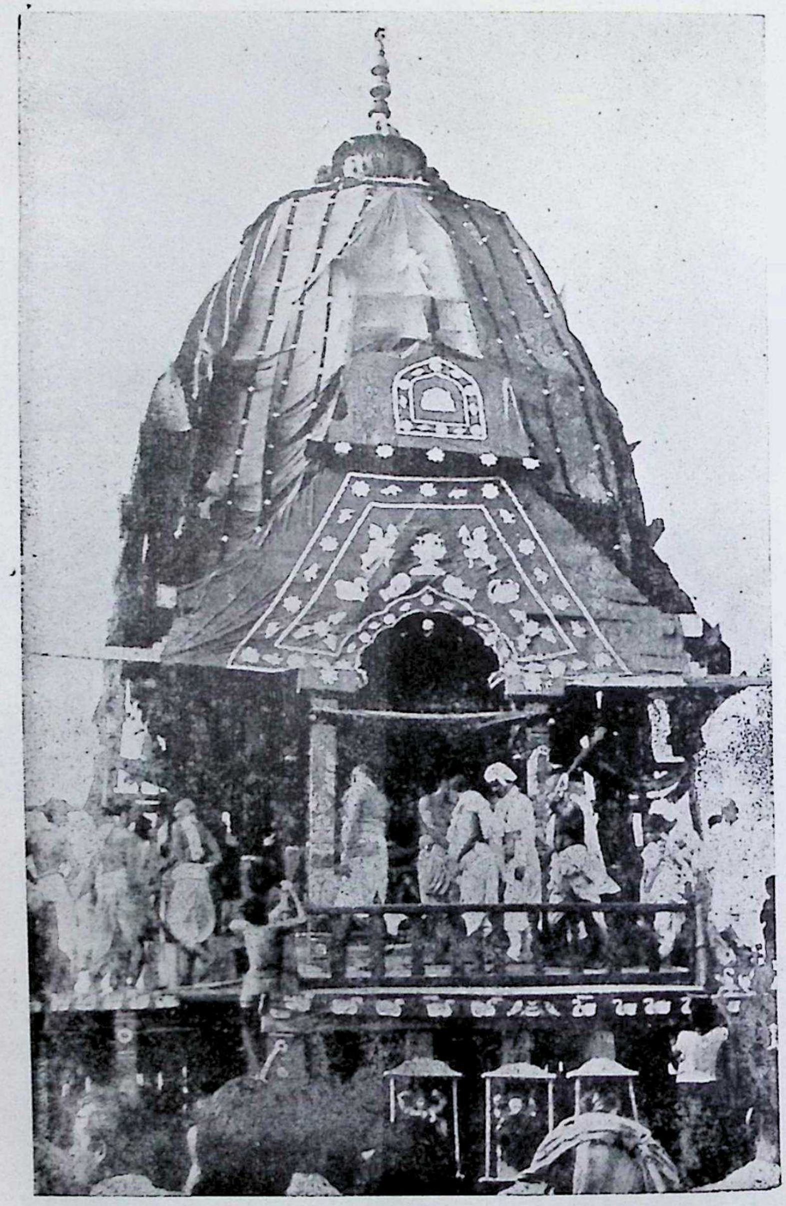


Rathayātrā scene in the pedastal of an old temple found
near the Dhanmandal Rly. Station
in the district of Cuttack,
Plate No. 39A


PUBLIC RELATION

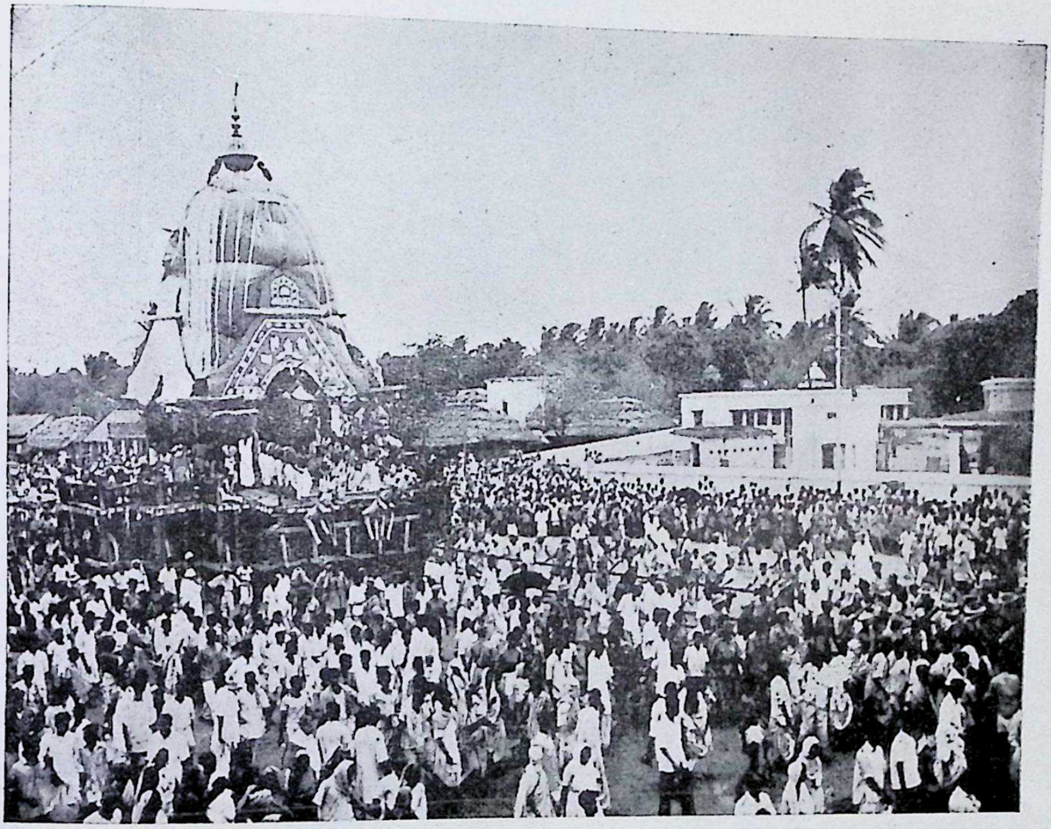
Pahandi—Vijoy.

Plate No. 40



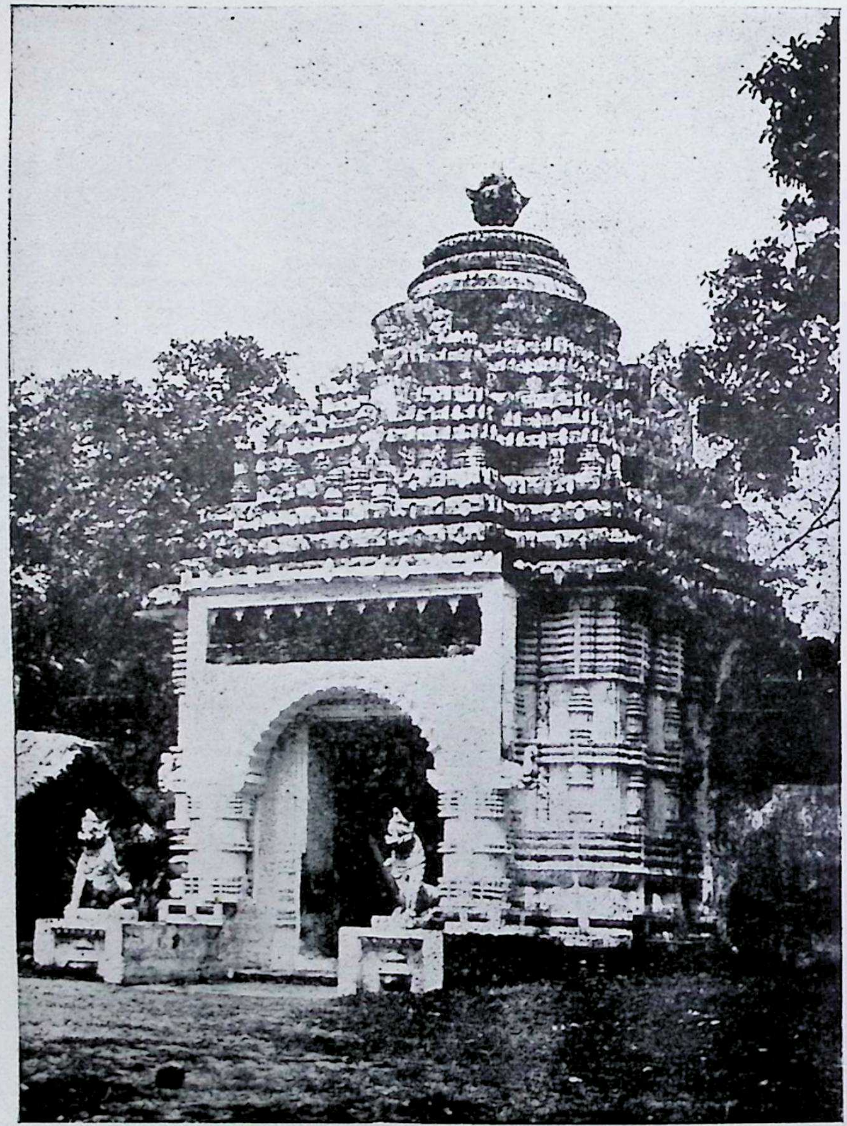
Rājā of Puri sweeps the platform of the cars during the Car-Festival known as Cherāpanharā.

Plate No. 41



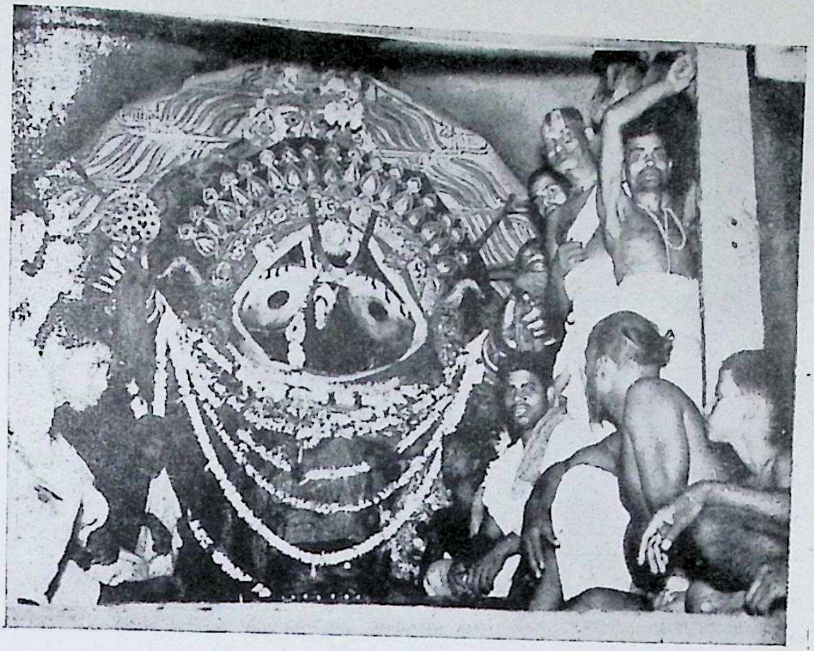
Car being drawn by the people.

Plate No. 42

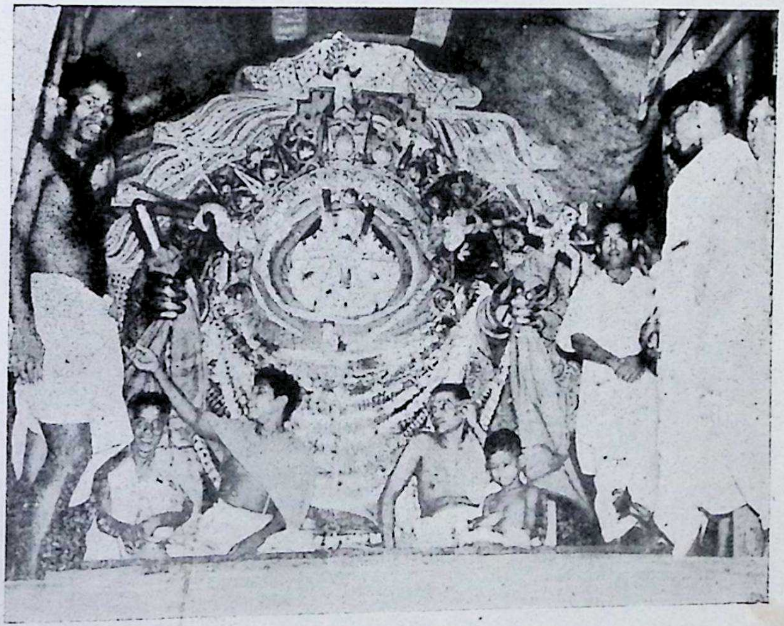


Gateway of the Gundicā Mandir.

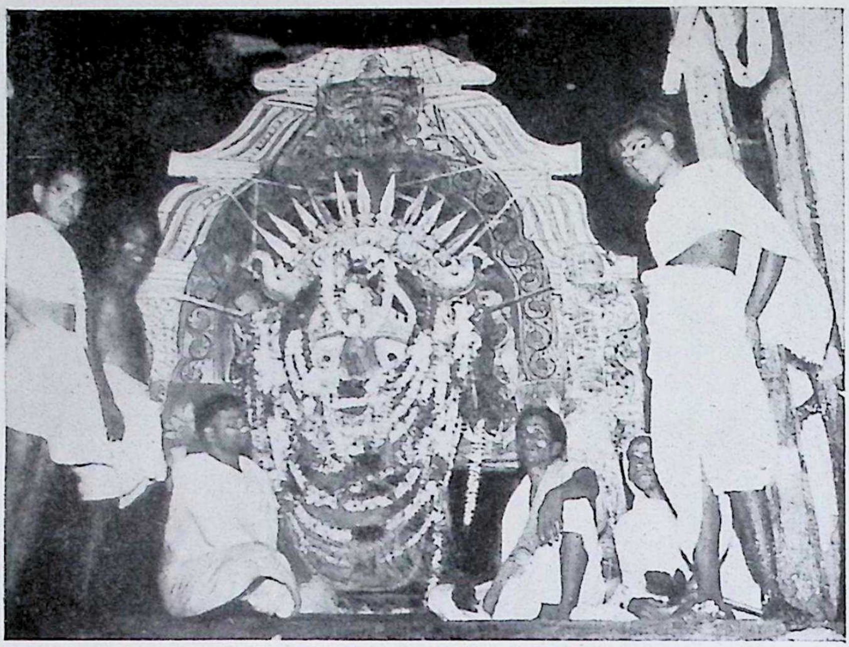
Plate No. 43



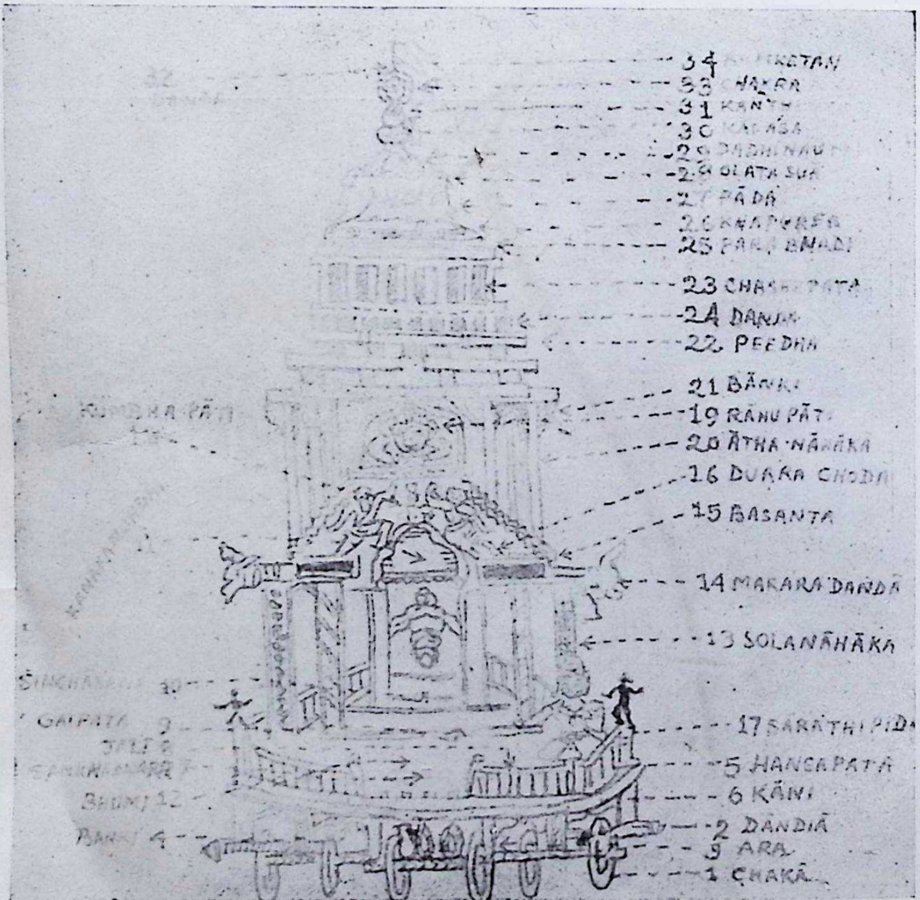
Jagannātha dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)
Plate No. 44



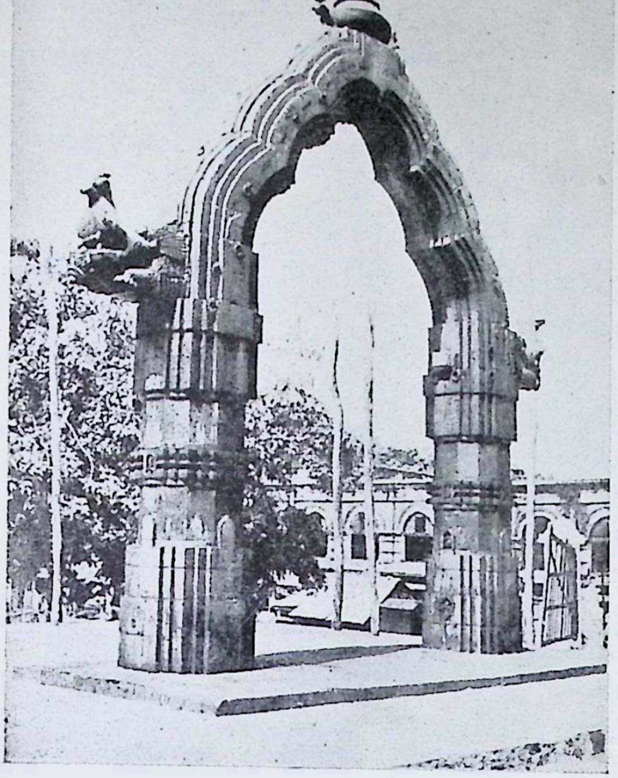
Balabhadra dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)
Plate No. 45



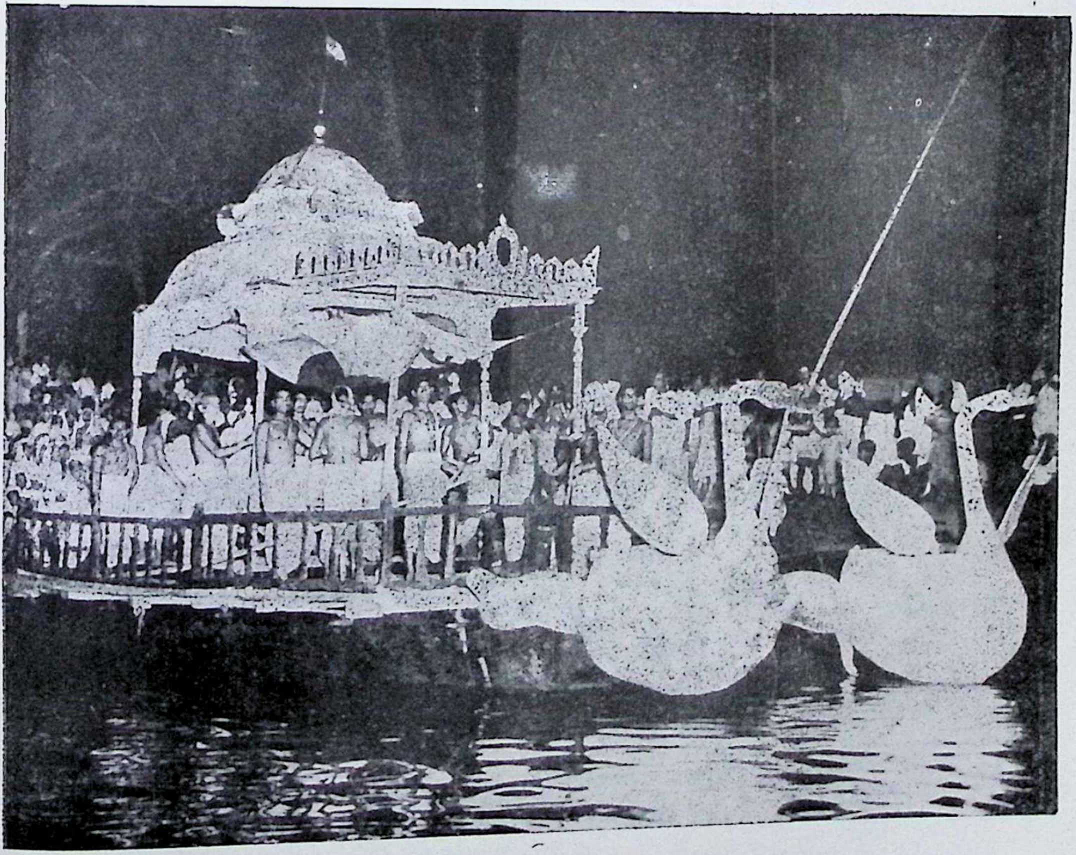
Subhadrā dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)
Plate No. 46


34 KETAN
33 CHAKRA
31 KANTH
30 KALASA
29 DADHINAU
28 OLATA SUA
27 PĀDA
26 KHAPURIA
25 PARŚ BHADI
23 CHASHPATA
24 DANDA
22 PEEDHA
21 BĀNKI
19 RĀNU PĀT
20 ĀTHA NĀHĀKA
16 DUĀRA CHODA
15 BASANTA
14 MAKARA DANDĀ
13 SOLANĀHĀKA
17 SARĀTHI PIDA
5 HANSAPATA
6 KĀNI
2 DANDIĀ
3 ARA
1 ÇHAKĀ
32
DANDA
KUMBHA PĀTI
18
11
SINGHASANA 10
GAIPATA 9
JALI 8
SANKHANARI 7
BHUMI 12
BANKI 4

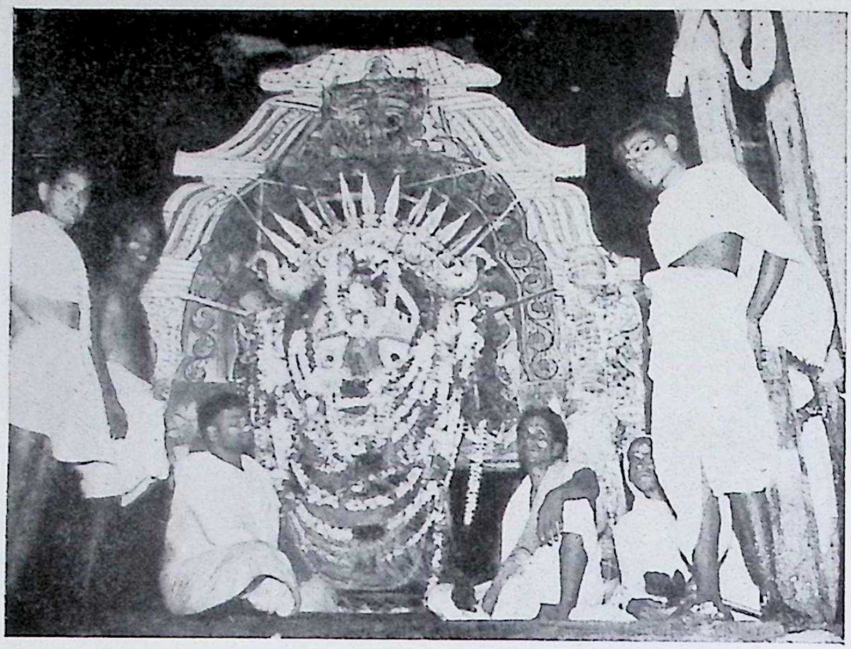
Impression of the Car
Plate No. 47



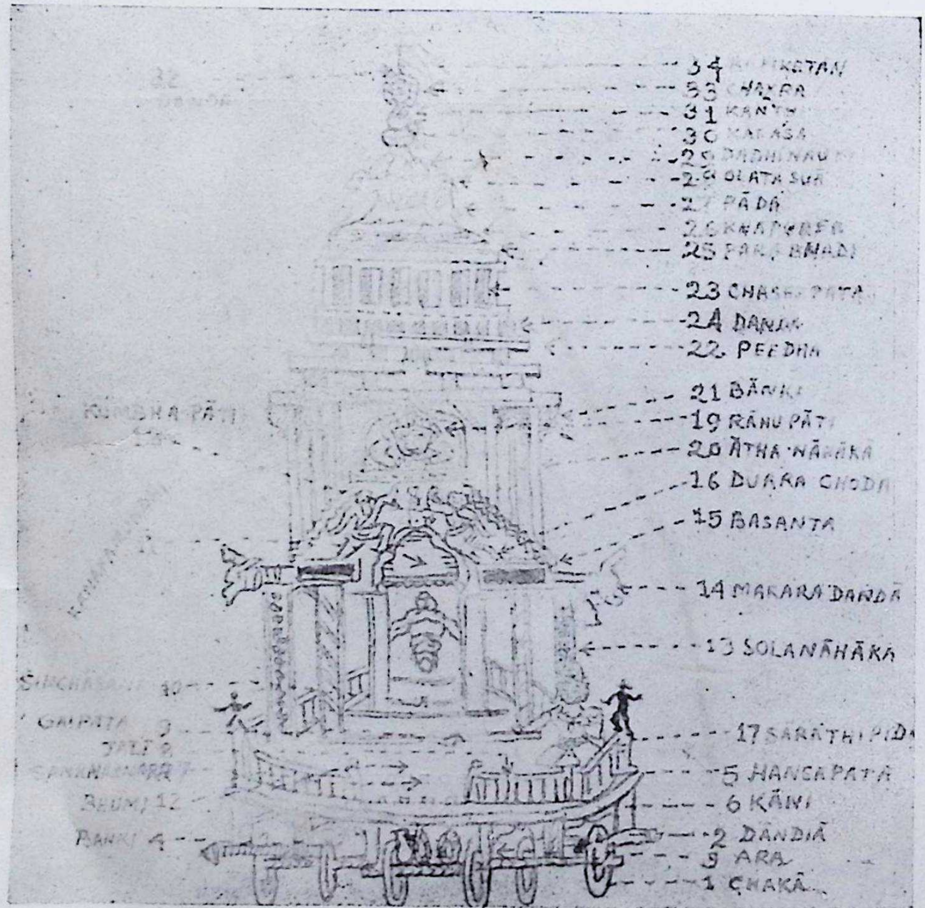
Dola-vedī
Plate No. 47A



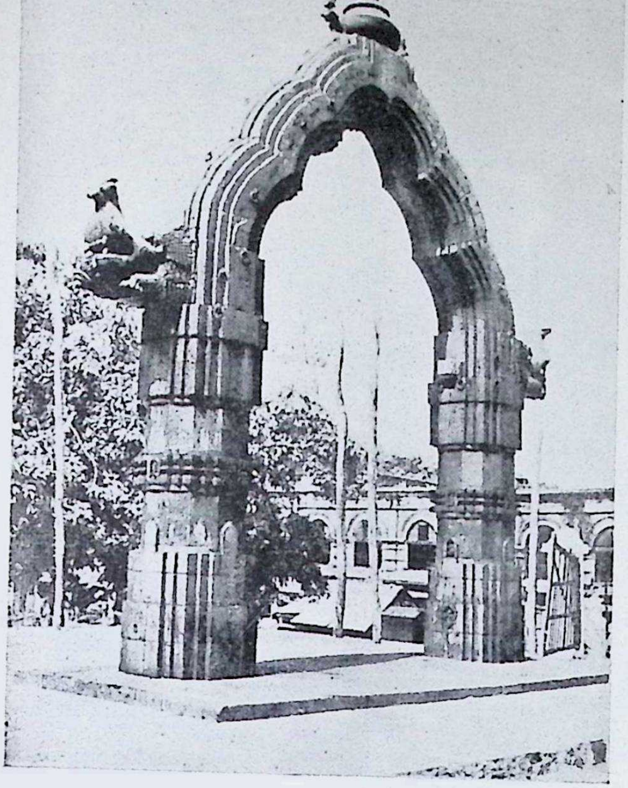
Candan-Jātrā



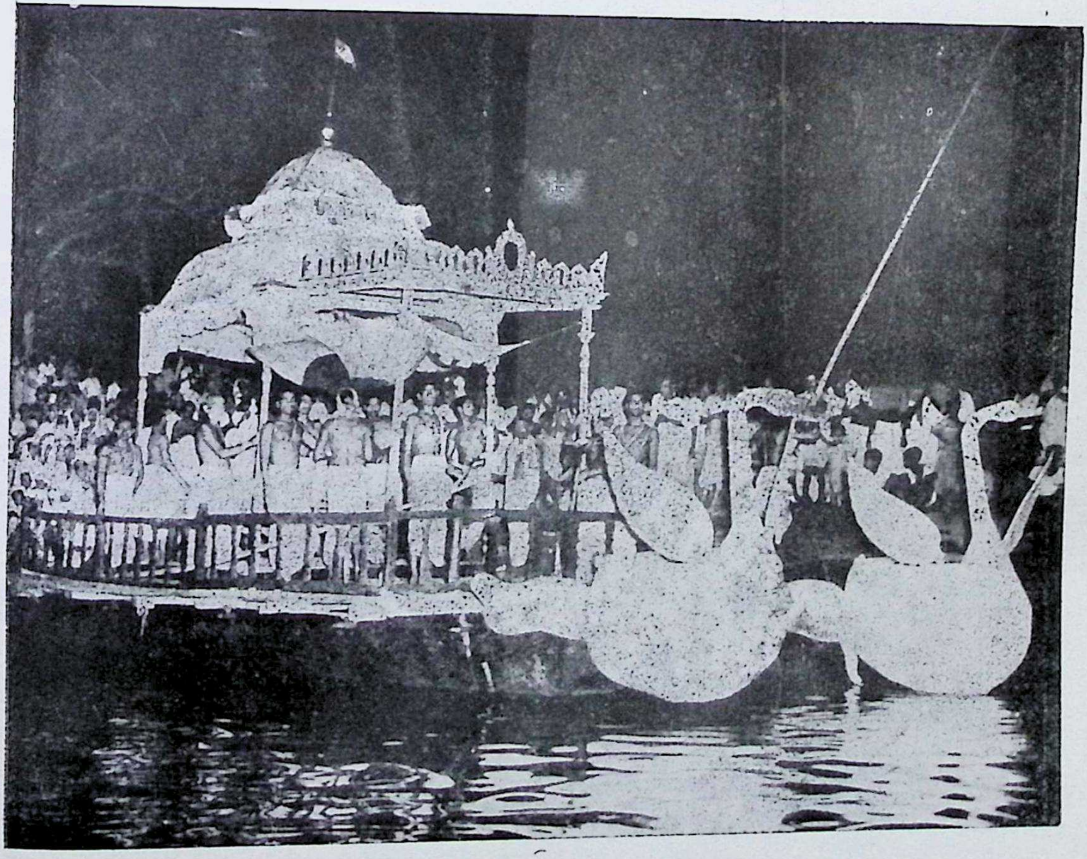
Subhadrā dressed in golden ornaments (Sunā-veśa)
Plate No. 46


34 NIKETAN
33 CHAKRA
31 KANTH
30 KALASA
29 DADHINAUTI
28 OLATA SUA
27 PĀDA
26 KHAPURIA
25 PARA BHADI
23 CHASHA PATA
24 DANDA
22 PEEDHA
21 BĀNKI
19 RĀHU PĀTI
20 ĀTHA NĀHĀKA
16 DUARA CHODA
15 BASANTA
14 MAKARA DANDĀ
13 SOLANĀHĀKA
17 SARATHI PIDA
5 HANCAPATA
6 KĀNI
2 DANDIĀ
3 ARA
1 CHAKĀ
32 DANDA
KUMBHA PĀTI
SIMHASANA 10
GAIPATA 9
JALI 8
SANKHANARRA 7
BHUMI 12
BANKI 4

Impression of the Car
Plate No. 47

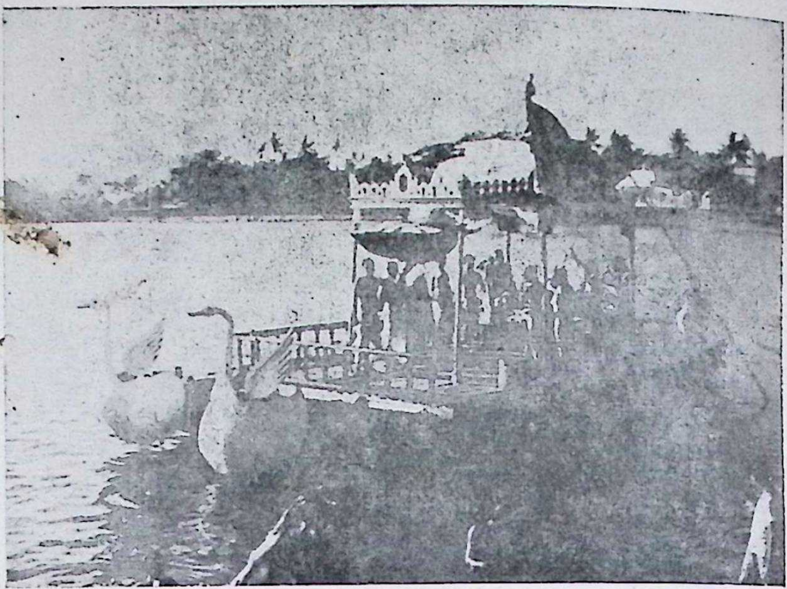


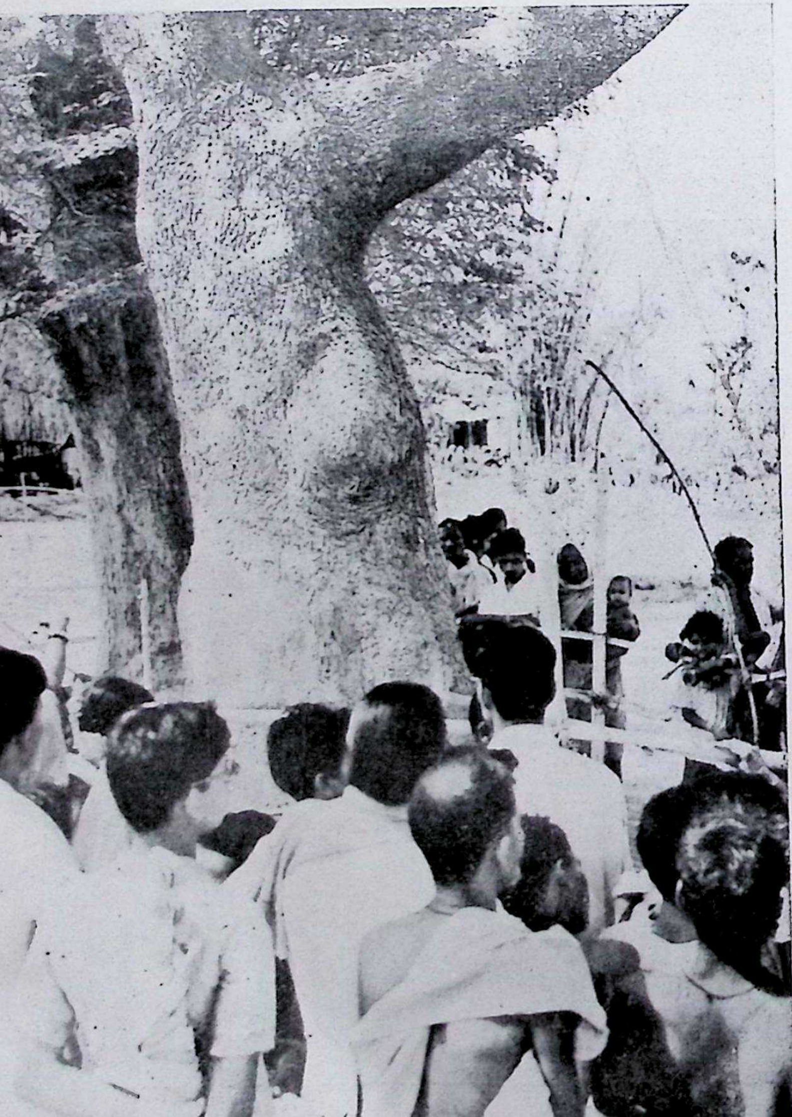
Dola-vedī
Plate No. 47A



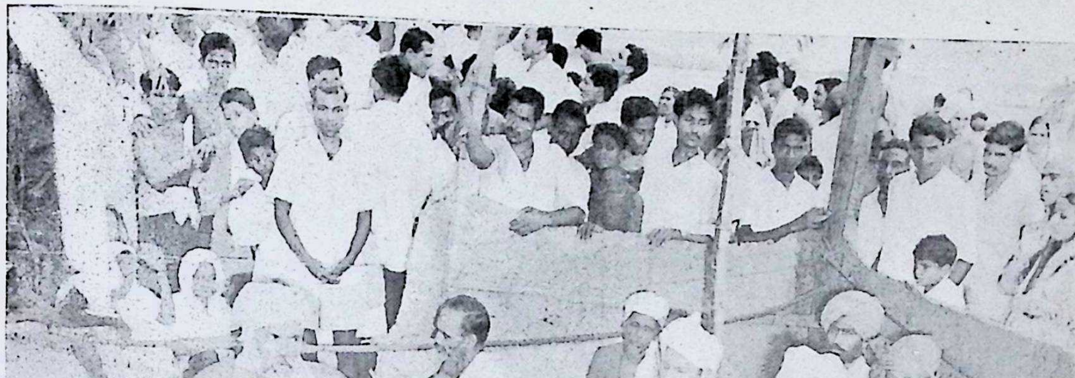
Candan-Jātrā
Plate No. 48

Boat moving in Narendra sarobara
during Candan Jātrā.
Plate No. 48A

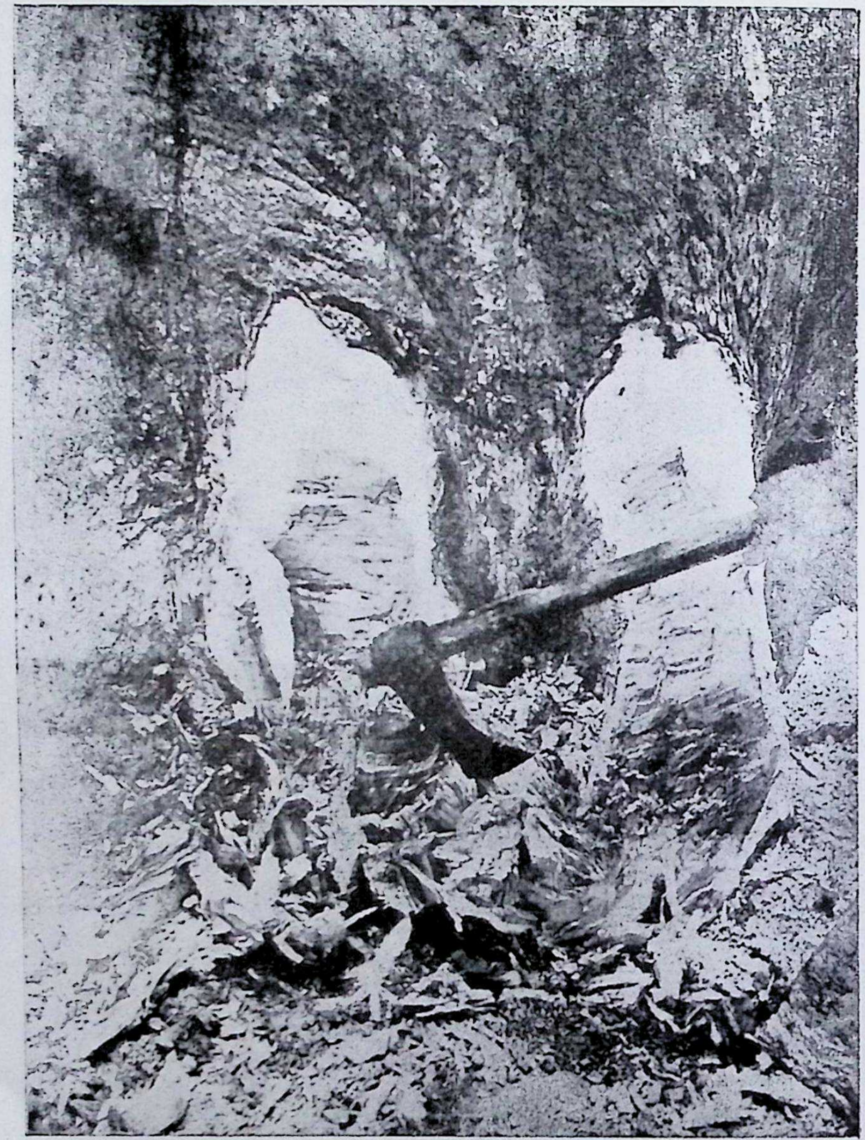




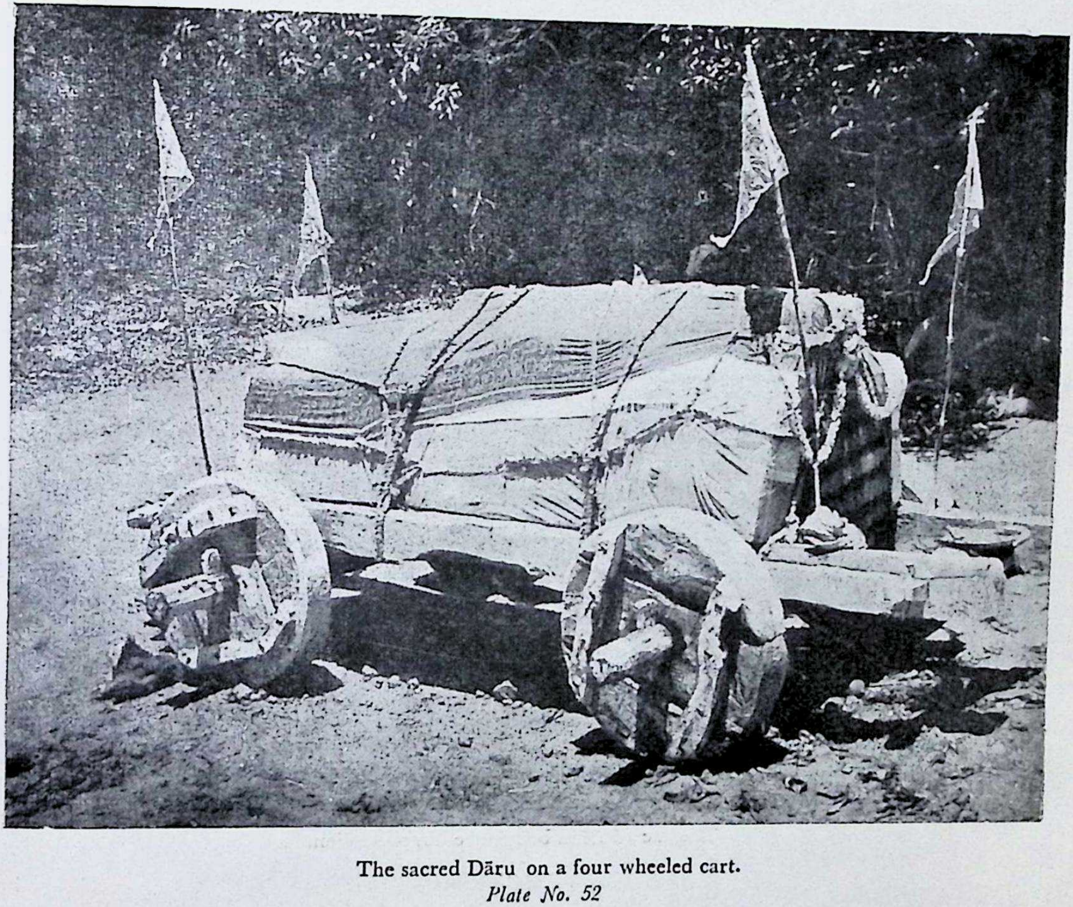
Nimba tree spotted out for Navakalevara.
Plate No. 49



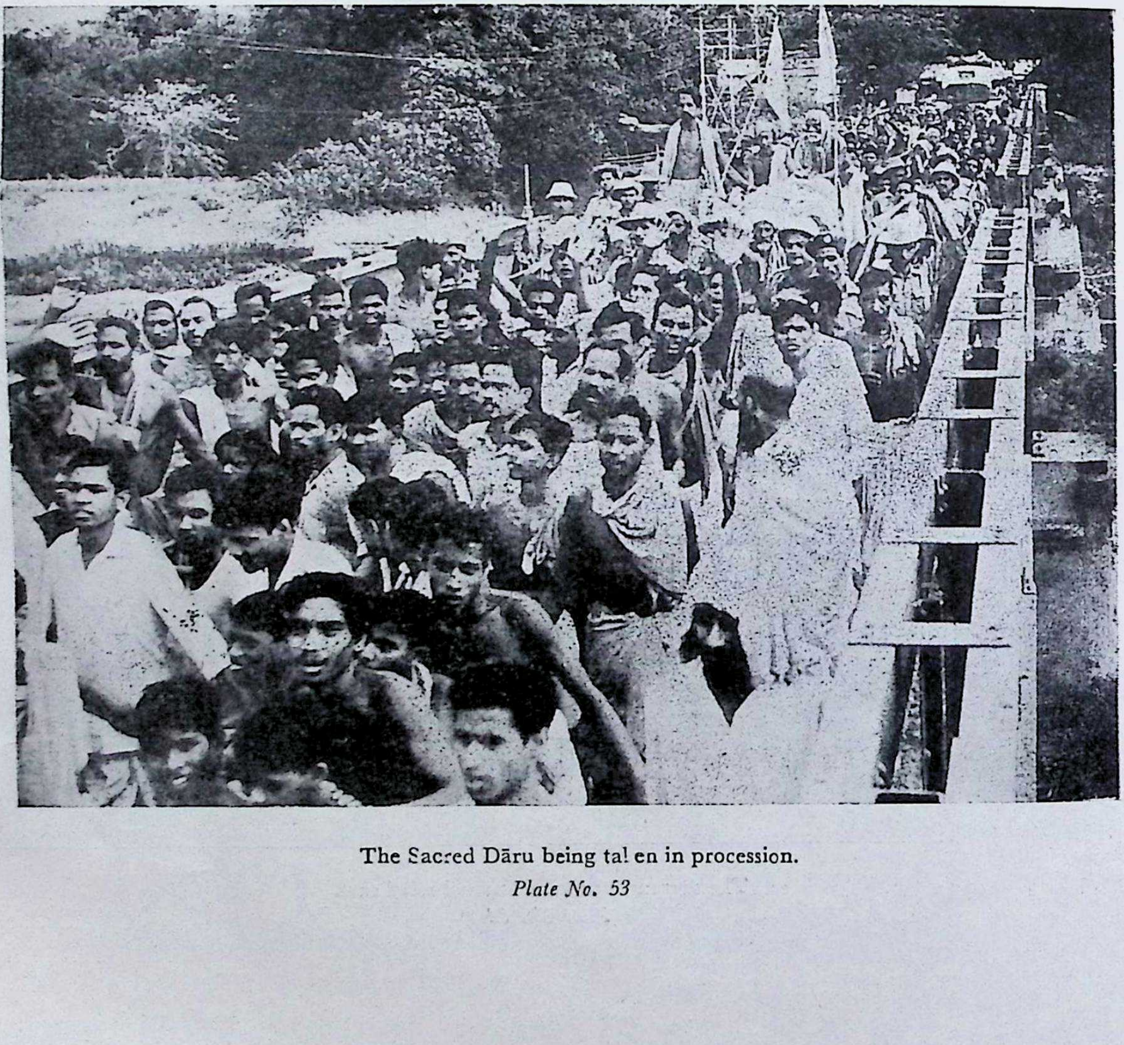
Vana-Yāga Ceremony performed near the spotted tree.
Plate No. 50



The Sacred log (Dāru) being cut by the carpenters.
Plate No. 51

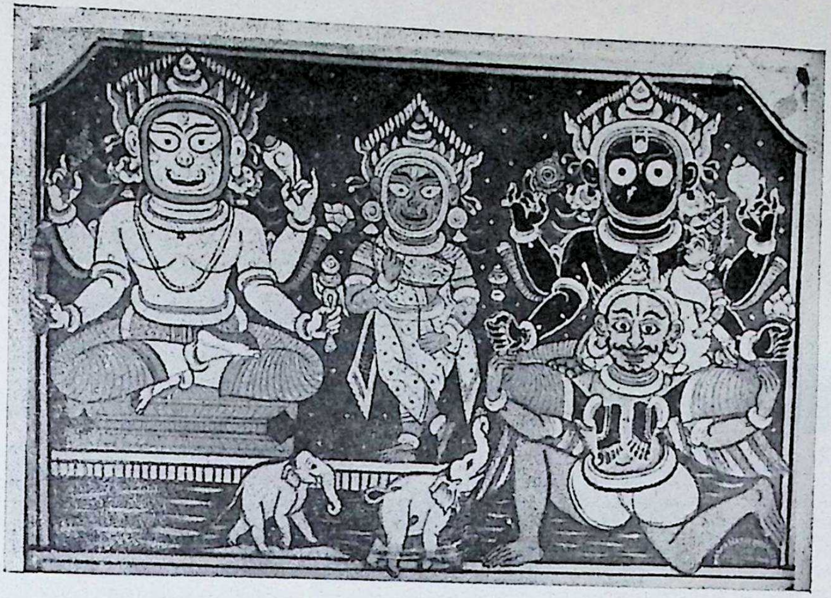


The sacred Dāru on a four wheeled cart.
Plate No. 52



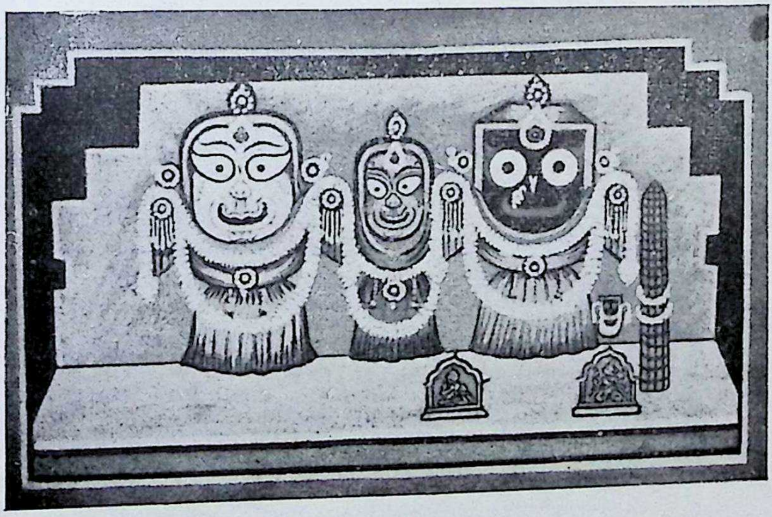
The Sacred Dāru being taken in procession.

Plate No. 53



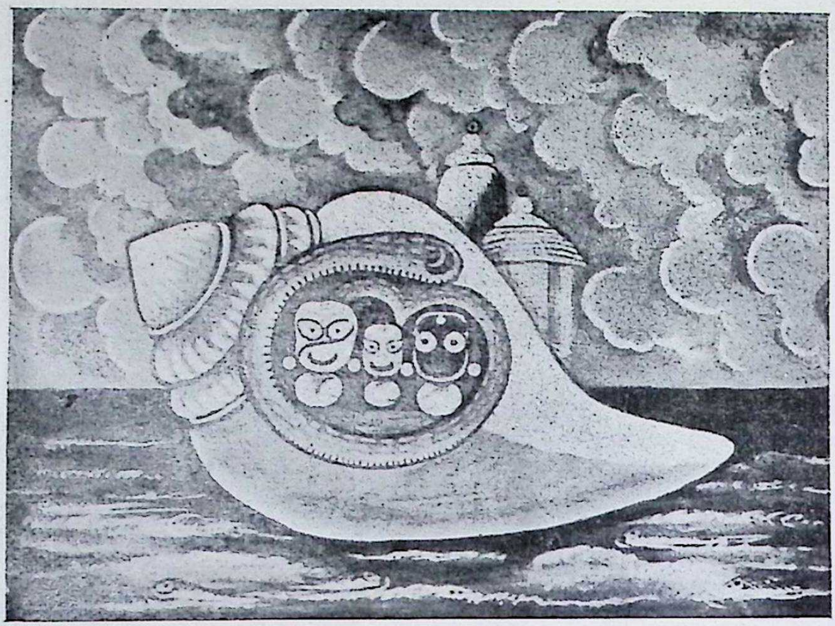
Gajoddhāraṇa-Veśa.

Plate No. 54

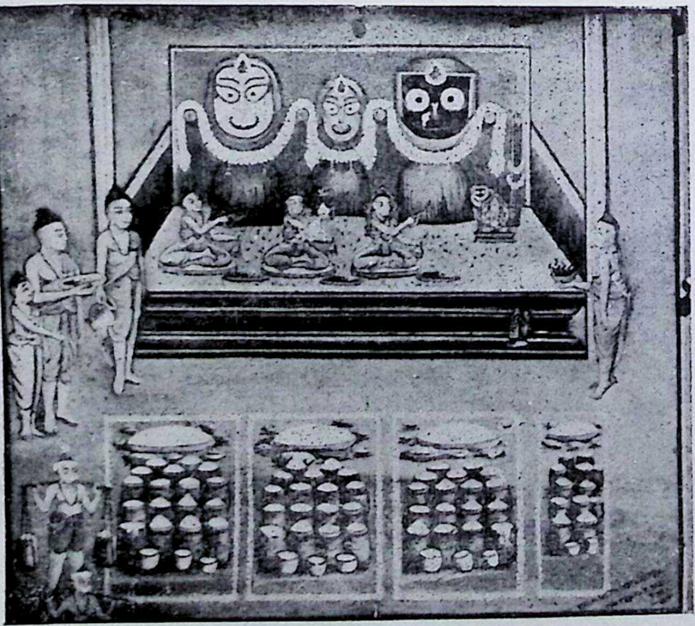


Padma-Veśa.

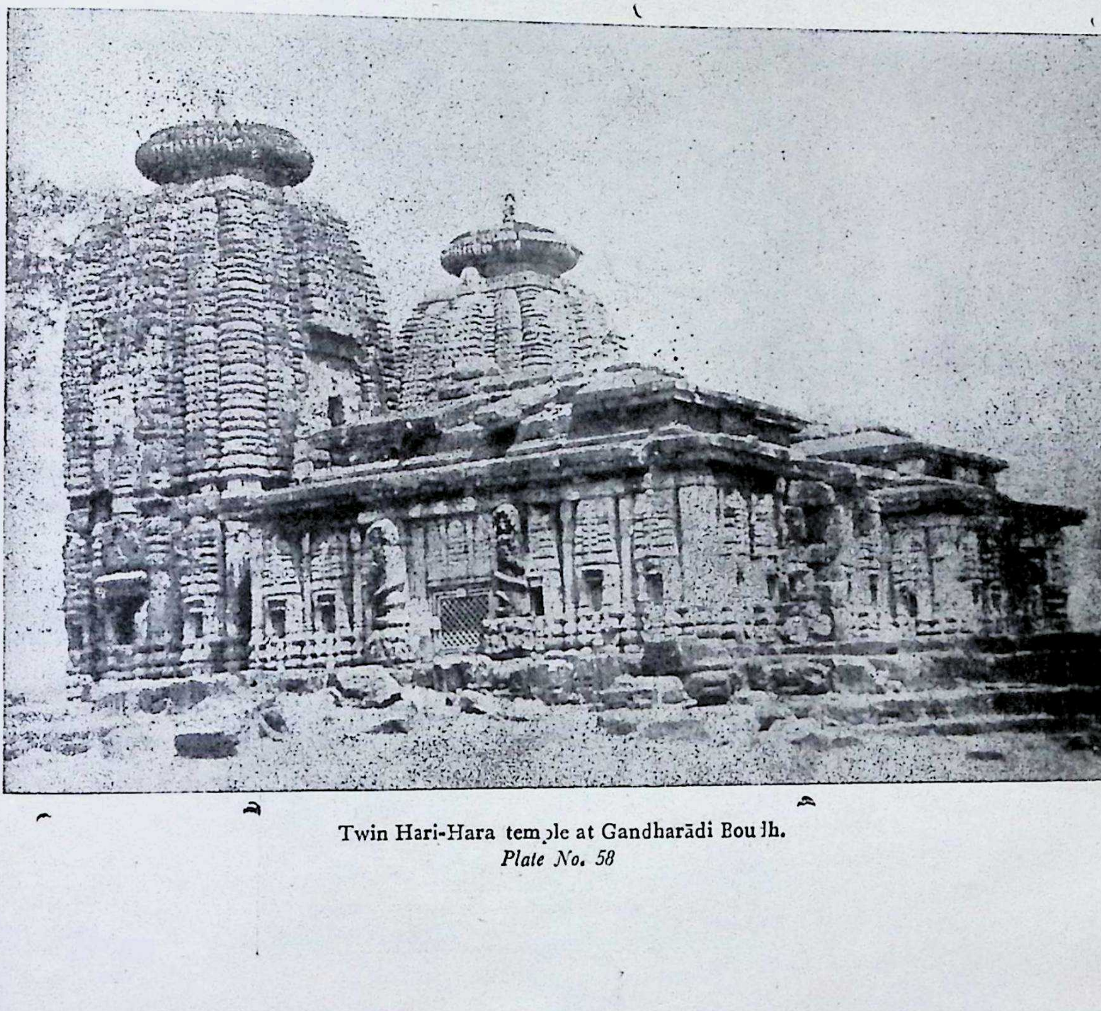
Plate No. 55



Jagannātha in Om-Kāra form.
Plate No. 56

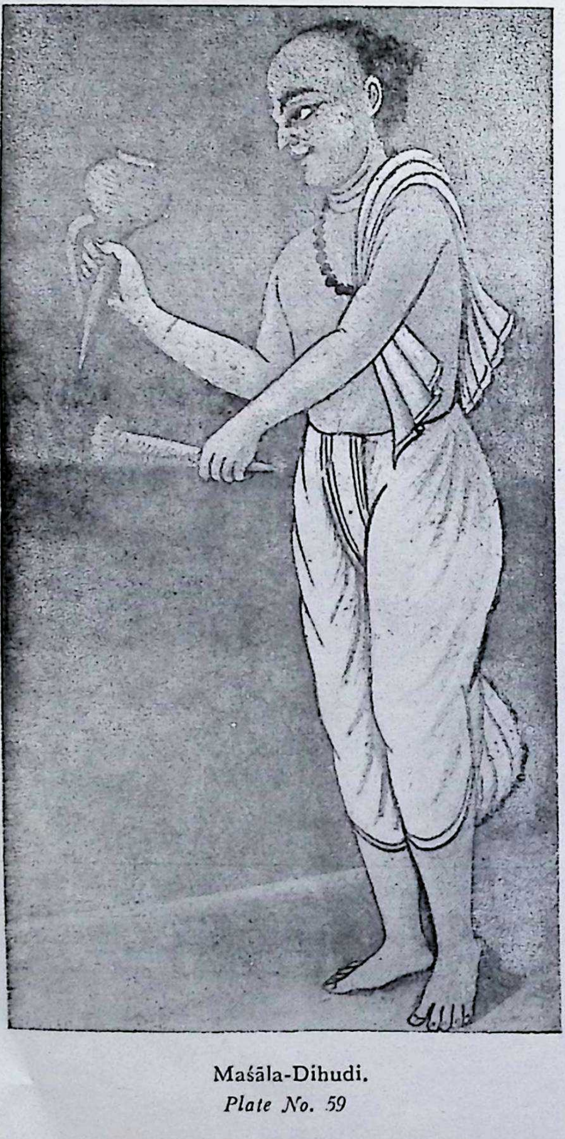


Worship of the Deities.
Plate No. 57



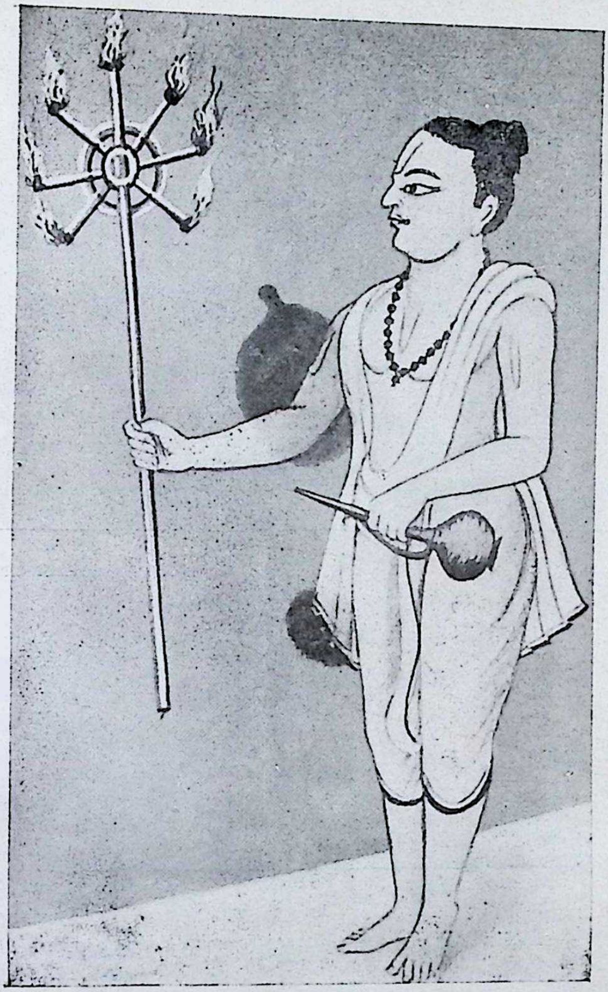
Twin Hari-Hara temple at Gandharādi Boudh.

Plate No. 58



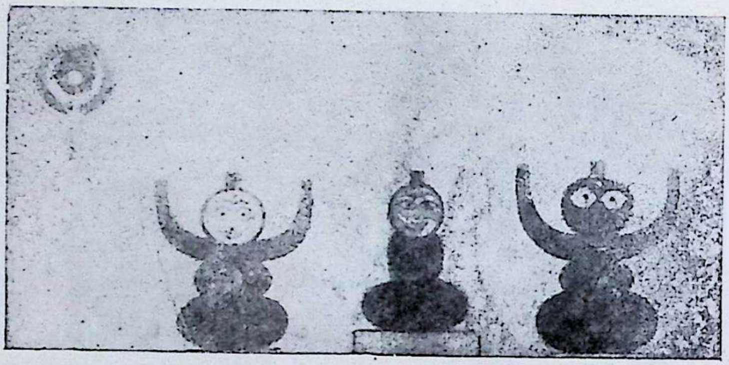
Maśāla-Dihudi.

Plate No. 59

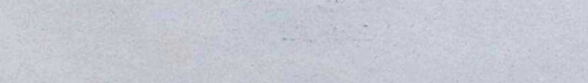


Cakra-Dihudi.

Plate No. 60



(Photostat)



(Photostat)

Om-Kāra form of Jagannātha as conceived by Peterson.

Plate No. 61

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